DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 392 694 SO 025 848

TITLE	Progress Revisited: The Quality of (Work)Life of Women Teachers.
INSTITUTION	Canadian Teachers' Federation, Ottawa (Ontario).
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-88989-265-2
PUB DATE	Jul 93
NOTE	87p.
AVAILABLE FROM	The Canadian Teachers' Federation, 110 Argyle Avenue, Ottawa, Ontario K2P 1B4, Canada (French version: ISBN-0-88989-266-0).
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Civil Rights; Elementary Secondary Education; *Employed Women; Feminism; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Quality of Life; Sex Discrimination; Sexual Abuse; Sexual Harassment; Teacher Rights; Verbal Abuse; *Women Faculty; *Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Canada

ABSTRACT

This study explores the elusive concept of "Quality of Life" of women teachers in Canada. It is clear that both gender and profession mediate quality of life and overlap in ways researchers are just beginning to understand. The experiences of men have been the yardstick against which women's progress in the teaching profession has been measured. The research shows that positions of women in education have been segregated internally by the profession and remain so, even after 20 years of reform efforts. The slow rate of change shows that change is happening, but that rate can be discouraging by its slowness. In the move toward educational reform, questions of equality are raised as schools are encouraged to become more like the "men's world" with product-orientation, rather than child-centered. The table of contents lists four chapters: (1) "Progress Revisited: The Quality of (Work)Life of Women Teachers"; (2) "Measuring the Gap"; (3) "(Women) Teachers in Canada: Their Work and Quality of Life"; and (4) "Revisiting Progress: Contemplating the Future." Twenty-one tables and 22 figures accompany the text. (EH)

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The Quality of (Work)Life of Women Teachers

Canadian Teachers' Federation

May 1993

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July 1993

Progress Revisited: The Quality of (Work)Life of Women Teachers

Issued also in French under title: Le chemin parcouru : La qualité de la vie (au travail) des enseignantes

ISBN 0-88989-265-2 (English version)
ISBN 0-88989-266-0 (French version)

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FOREWORD

Quality of life is an elusive concept, perhaps because its absence is often more apparent than its presence. Neither measuring nor explaining quality of life is straightforward; no thoughtful person would attempt to equate a particular variable with an inevitable outcome.

These complications should not discourage the discussion and investigation of our quality of life as teachers or as women. It is clear that both gender and profession mediate quality of life and overlap in ways we are just beginning to understand. "Progress Revisited" is intended as a contribution to the exploration of these issues.

The data, analysis and commentary found within "Progress Revisited" have come from many sources. Rose Potvin collected the most recent data and contributed to the structure of this report. Staff and officers of CTF Member organizations were diligent and most cooperative in providing trend data and recent statistics. Ground-breaking work by Linda MacLeod, Alan King and Marjorie Peart have made new analyses possible. Teachers forwarded comments about their quality of life in words which tables can never capture. Finally, staff working in many CTF departments contributed their talents to the production of this report. The encouragement of CTF directors, executive committee and president Allan McDonald has helped this project proceed from an idea to a finished document.

CTF is especially appreciative of the generous contribution of the Workplace Equality Fund of the Women's Bureau of Labour Canada.

Heather-jane Robertson
July 1993

PROGRESS REVISITED:
The Quality of (Work)Life of Women Teachers

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CTF Member Organizations' Acronyms

BCTF	British Columbia Teachers' Federation
ATA	Alberta Teachers' Association
STF	Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation
MTS	Manitoba Teachers' Society
OTF	Ontario Teachers' Federation
AEFO	Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens
FWTAO	Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario
OECTA	The Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association
OPSTF	Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation
OSSTF	Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation
PAPT	Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec
NBTA	New Brunswick Teachers' Association
AEFNB	Association des enseignantes et des enseignants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick
NSTU	Nova Scotia Teachers Union
PEITF	Prince Edward Island Teachers' Federation
NTA	Newfoundland Teachers' Association
NWTTA	Northwest Territories Teachers' Association
YTA	Yukon Teachers' Association
CTF	Canadian Teachers' Federation

1 PROGRESS REVISITED: The Quality of (Work)Life of Women Teachers

> *"Gender equity cannot be achieved by making women into male images of the successful employee. If our efforts to alter socialization patterns are guided by the principles of equality as sameness, we may easily accept the general experience of males as the norm and encourage women to assimilate."*[1] *[Cecilia Reynolds; Man's World/Woman's World: Women's Roles in Schools]*

Most considerations of the status of women in the teaching profession have held the experience of men as the yardstick against which women's progress has been measured.

At the beginning of the women in education movement in Canada, only those areas of obvious and quantifiable gender difference were accorded attention. For example, Challenge 76: Sexism in Schools[2], a publication sent to participants attending the first CTF conference on women in education, reported action plans developed by CTF Member organizations. Resolutions such as "teachers of both sexes should be working at all levels and in all subject areas, K-12, and, in addition, a balance of males and females should be seen in all positions of authority " (BCTF) and "be it resolved that appointments to advisory committees more accurately reflect the percentage of women teachers in the province" (STF) were common. While both motions avoided the mention of "quotas", perhaps to improve chances of obtaining political support, the message was clear. Women wanted their fair share of the existing pie.

The consideration of topics ordinarily addressed by contract provisions was entirely absent from this 1976 report, as it was from the conference debate, since contracts and agreements already held out the promise of equal treatment under equal circumstances. Understanding that "equal circumstances" could be an artificial or even deceitful representation of women's experience was not yet part of our discourse, and even today it has not yet completely permeated our ways of thinking about the teaching profession and women's place within it.

Perhaps such selective attention is the result of expediency: what can be counted and tallied fits more neatly on a bar graph, tends to invite fewer contradictory interpretations, and pretends to an objectivity we have been taught to value over the personal and subjective. This does not mean that those things which can be counted have more substance than those things which are felt and lived.

The quality of (work)life of women teachers is not measured exclusively through women's encroachment on positions of added responsibility. The valuing of women's work, the protection of women's interests as employees, the recognition of women's world view and respect for women's choices are essential components of e=quality. Esteem, freedom from harassment and choices for which real options exist may not be easily quantified, but they bear enormously on women's well-being.

In 1988, CTF commissioned consultant Linda MacLeod to draw together the quantifiable indicators of women's status in the teaching profession. This was no small task, hampered as it was by a dearth of national education statistics, the variety of ways in which provinces/territories and teacher organizations kept statistical data, and especially by the lack of data collected by any source on the kinds of experiences, such as career interruption, much more common to women teachers. Ms. MacLeod's report was published by CTF as Progress as Paradox: A Profile of Women Teachers.[3]

In updating this 1988 report, CTF has had access to important new resources. Member Organizations of CTF have begun to collect more gender-specific data. CTF's commissioned report Teachers in Canada: Their Work and Quality of Life[4] by Alan King and Marjorie Peart provides a great deal of information about the qualitative aspects of teachers' work lives, and suggests marked gender differences within particular indicators. But if Progress Revisited is limited only to the consideration of gender differences, it risks replicating the prejudice of confusing the desirable standard with the male standard. An additional perspective is required.

This perspective must move iteratively between viewing "women as teachers" and "teachers as women". It

becomes necessary to understand that the quality of women teachers' lives is shaped by both gender and profession. The nature of our lives, our experiences and our interpretation of these experiences, are mediated by the cultural constructions of gender. As women, we tend not to have discrete "work lives" and "personal lives", but rather lives which flow through competing as well as complementary spheres of thought, feeling and responsibility.

This integration creates the framework for Progress Revisited. It poses a difficult agenda. Although an emphasis on revisiting statistical data on women as teachers is maintained, it is presented in such a way as to provoke discussion within the profession. The data and discussion have been enriched by the thoughts of women across the country who have been asked to reflect upon their experiences in education. It is these voices which provide the balance and insights of teachers as women.

"I have many concerns on many of these issues, but the most important concern revolves around my own personal need to be everything to everyone. I play several roles on any given day - today for example, I am: 1) working mother; 2) teacher; 3) counsellor to a sexually abused student; 4) organizer for my various committees; 5) problem solver on staff; 6) wife; 7) nursemaid to my sick child when I get home; 8) entertainer - this also happens to be the night I (earlier) invited 4 people to dinner! Help! The one thing I am not is ME! I constantly ask myself - where is my time; where is my time for reflection, personal enjoyment, sexuality, etc."

2 *Measuring the Gap*

2.1 Introduction

To examine the positioning of women in education is to examine the nature of an internally segregated profession. The stability of this segregation is so pronounced that after twenty or more years of reform efforts, it must be said to be apparently intransigent.

During this same twenty year period, many would claim that the gendered balance of power in Canadian society has shifted to a greater extent than could have been thought possible by early reformers. Reforms such as pay equity, the equal division of assets on marriage breakdown and constitutionally-entrenched gender equity surely would have been seen as highly improbable from the vantage point of 1973. From the point of view of equity strategists, given the teaching profession had been numerically dominated by women for almost a century, reducing men's monopoly of particular education roles would surely have seemed a much more attainable objective. Yet while there have been certain advances for women teachers, overall there is scant evidence of more than marginal, incremental change.

"As a young (22 year old) teacher, I was told during my job interview that if hired I was expected to be a role model for the young female students - therefore, I was expected to wear dresses not pants. The principal who did indeed hire me is now the superintendent of my school division. I am now 33 years old - that was in the year 1982. Not that long ago!"

To explore these changes, and the tenacity of the status quo, this section of Progress Revisited reviews the quantifiable data describing women teachers, with an emphasis on roles, benefits and contractual provisions. It begins the discussion of why change has been difficult, limited, and restricted to certain domains.

In 1988, Linda MacLeod, who had prepared Progress as Paradox for CTF, reported to the Tenth CTF conference on women and education that between 1972/73 and 1986/87, progress for women in the profession constituted a "shockingly small amount, given fifteen years of hard work to ensure greater equality." Ironically, she found that efforts to reduce gender monopolies on certain roles appeared to have benefitted men more than women during that time: more men than women had entered teaching, men had maintained their near-monopoly of administrative positions and they had actually increased their representation among principals and department heads. Men had increased their representation among elementary teachers by more than 25%, while women's participation in secondary schools had not increased to the same extent.[5]

Turning to the evidence of contracts, Ms. MacLeod warned that an increase in support for "parental benefits" seemed to be translating into benefits for fathers, and that boards' increasing tolerance or desire for part-time teachers, who were overwhelmingly female, was reducing the pressure on the spouses of women teachers to share more equitably the "second shift" of home and family responsibilities. She quoted an Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation study which reported male teachers spent an average of 11.9 hours per week on housework compared with 15.3 hours for female teachers, despite the fact that men were twice as likely as women teachers to have children in the home.

At the same time, she foresaw a restructuring of administrative roles, a "generic-management" focus that was increasingly distant from women's values and cultures. Principals and superintendents were being exhorted to think of themselves as corporate heads and strategic planners, and to pay greater attention to their political functions. As a result, women whose conceptions of leadership were more facilitative and

supportive were inclined to see their priorities even further estranged from those of management. A gordian knot was tightening: women could join management only by buying into values which tended to exclude women.

Since 1988, the circumstances which lead Ms. MacLeod to conclude that schools and school management were changing have intensified. The pressure on schools to abandon their liberal and humanistic mandates in favour of advancing a national "competitive imperative" has never been greater. The collective voice of educators, perhaps because of the feminine stereotype of schools, has so far been no match for the "masculine" voice of authority advanced by business and politicians.

For decades, women teachers have coped with what many have seen as the absurdity of leadership at all levels by closing their classroom doors and doing what they love to do. In good conscience, it is difficult to urge those who make this choice to change their priorities. Yet if the consequence of continuing this pattern is to choose silence and disenfranchisement when transformative decisions are being made, everyone will pay an enormous price. If women continue to absorb inequity in their contracts, their personal lives and their career paths, there will be little energy left for articulating and reframing an education agenda for the 1990s and beyond.

2.2 Where Women Are Now

Since Progress as Paradox was published, CTF Member organizations have been attempting to maintain databases which would better document the circumstances of women teachers, but teacher organizations vary in their internal information-gathering priorities and capabilities. Statistics Canada, long the key source of national education statistics, is providing greatly reduced and less current information; ministries and departments of education collect different data in different ways. Thus despite the best efforts of CTF and its Members, the data in this report are not comprehensive and definitive but rather selective and illustrative.

In 1992, CTF Member organizations received a questionnaire to begin the data-gathering process. The content and structure of the questionnaire had been modified on the basis of feedback from Member representatives. The returned surveys and additional materials forwarded to CTF have formed the basis of this analysis.

The information in this part of the report has been structured by presenting available responses to the survey questions, followed by trend data where it is available. The additional information provided by each province/territory is then reviewed. Some topics included in this section are also dealt with in Part 3, which examines the quality of (work)life implications of the CTF report by King and Peart, Teachers in Canada: Their Work and Quality of Life.

2.2.1 Participation rates

The participation rates of women in the profession have changed during the last decade. Despite a mid-decade increase in male participation, the most recent available figures indicate that teaching in both elementary and secondary schools is now much more female-dominated than during any other recent period.

TABLE A

Participation rates of women, expressed as a percentage of all teachers, by province and territory, for selected years

PROVINCE/TERRITORY	80-81	84-85	89-90
British Columbia	49.6%	48.3%	52.7%
Alberta	55.7	56.5	58.8
Saskatchewan	52.4	53.0	56.1
Manitoba	51.9	51.6	54.4
Ontario	52.8	54.0	59.9
Quebec	60.7	60.3	62.8
New Brunswick	59.4	58.4	60.6
Nova Scotia	59.2	58.1	58.4
Newfoundland	52.3	51.6	52.9
Prince Edward Island	58.9	55.8	57.9
Yukon	56.1	52.4	60.2
Northwest Territories	53.5	55.0	61.5
TOTAL	55.2	55.3	59.2

Source: Data derived from Statistics Canada.*

While data more recent than 1989-90 are incomplete, they suggest the trend towards increasing proportions of female teachers is continuing, and perhaps escalating. There are no simple answers to explaining each of the multiple individual choices influencing which individuals choose to become teachers and which will choose to remain in the profession. This question is explored more thoroughly in section 3.2.2 of this report, and in many other analytical papers.

Less often discussed is the relationship between gender composition and the status of the teaching profession. A CTF analysis of salary and benefits patterns over recent decades notes that of all the years since 1959-60, teachers' salaries reached their peak in comparison with the Industrial Composite in 1985-86.[7] Teachers' salaries have been in relative decline since that date, which (perhaps) coincidentally also marked the year in which men's participation rate in the profession was at its peak. Whether these two events are related poses some challenging questions to both male and female teachers.

2.2.2 Age and Gender

The teaching profession is aging; between 1972-73 and 1989-90 the average age of teachers rose by six years to 41. In 1972-73, 44% of teachers were below 30 years of age; this was true for only 11% of all teachers in 1989-90.[8] The age distribution of teachers shows marked gender differences:

TABLE B

Age distribution of teachers, by gender, by percent of age cohort

Province	24-under		25 to 34		35 to 44		45 to 54		55 +	
	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M
SASK (89-90)	84.8	15.2	66.5	33.5	57.9	42.1	50.4	49.6	65.2	34.8
MAN (90-91)	81.7	18.3	68.7	31.3	60.1	39.9	48.4	51.6	54.4	45.6
ONT (89-90)	81.6	18.4	69.8	30.2	60.1	39.9	49.8	50.2	53.9	46.1
NB (Eng. 91-92)	91.2	18.8	73.6	26.4	65.7	34.3	54.4	45.6	62.5	27.5
NB (Fr. 91-92)	88.4	11.6	74.3	24.6	67.8	32.2	59.5	40.5	71.6	28.4
NS (1991-92)	75.0	25.0	70.1	29.9	56.8	43.2	54.4	45.6	68.5	31.5
PEI (89-90)	75.0	25.0	69.1	30.9	59.4	40.6	52.7	47.3	67.0	33.0

Source: Statistics Canada, 81-002.[9]

The aging profession is a phenomenon which has been examined from many perspectives, including its implications for professional development, role modelling for students and teacher energy and enthusiasm.

For women, there are additional issues related to aging. While men who are in the final third of their careers may be seen as "mature", obvious leadership material, and in an ideal position to mentor younger teachers, older women may have to endure the stereotype which diminishes rather than enhances their credibility. The considerably higher proportion of women in the "over 55" category reflects one of the consequences of an interrupted career pattern: working later in life in order to receive adequate pension benefits.

2.2.3 Levels of Education

Women teachers continue, on average, to have fewer years of professional preparation than their male counterparts, although this has been one of the most significant areas of change during the last two decades.

In 1972-73, 72% of male teachers held Bachelor's degrees compared with 36% of women teachers. By 1985-86, these figures had increased to 90.3% and 73.4% respectively. In 1972-73, 10% of male and 2% of female teachers held advanced degrees; these figures had increased to 17% and 6% respectively by 1985-86.[10] The following sample suggests the trend to higher qualifications for women is continuing, although men are still more than twice as likely as women to hold an advanced degree.

TABLE C

Teacher qualifications, by gender, expressed as a percentage of all teachers of that gender, selected jurisdictions, various years

Province	No degree		Bachelors or equivalent		Masters or equivalent		Ph.D./other	
	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M	%F	%M
ALTA (88-89)	4.8%	1.2%	87.9%	80.6%	* 7.2%	*18.2%		
SASK (89-90)	15.7	3.3	80.1	85.9	3.3	8.9	.1%	.1%
ONT (89-90)	23.8	10.8	58.4	74.7	7.0	17.3	.1	.3
NB (Eng. 89-90)	9.6	1.1	81.1	70.7	9.4	27.8	.00	.05
NB (Fr. 89-90)	1.2	1.0	93.2	81.7	5.5	17.2	.05	.1
NS (91-92)	20.0	10.0	53.0	48.0	25.0	38.0		
PEI (89-90)	2.7	.2	88.4	74.9	7.9	21.3	.00	1.7
NFLD (91-92)	2.9	.7	87.7	75.6	* 9.5	*23.8		

*Alberta and Newfoundland figures in this column include those holding masters and doctoral degrees.
Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

This trend is driven in part by ministry requirements for higher qualifications as a condition of employment, but improved qualifications are also generally taken as evidence of "career commitment" and an increased recognition of employment as a permanent rather than a temporary feature of women's lives. The gender discrepancy found in the number of advanced degrees earned no doubt reflects the fact that men are much more likely than women to be granted leaves of absence from their careers in order to pursue further education. (See section 3.3.2 of this report.)

The gender discrepancy in the holding of advanced degrees may be influenced as well by women's somewhat delayed interest in educational administration (see section 3.4.3). The motivation for some teachers to increase their qualifications stems in part from an interest in enhancing their "promotability", although women are still less likely than men to be pursuing educational administration as their field of advanced study. While it is possible that women's slightly higher degree of satisfaction with their salaries (see section 2.2.4) may act as a disincentive to improving qualifications, it is more probable that the higher levels of work-family role conflict reported by women (see section 3.4.2) are a much more substantive deterrent, especially for those with children at home. By the time family pressures ease, women may consider the investment in advanced education no longer justifiable in terms of career enhancement or financial rewards.

"I can say that in my school district, women can advance to positions of responsibility as well as men. Some women have not been able to obtain these positions because of a lack of certification, because they had children and were unable to take the necessary courses. If a woman does not have an understanding husband, it is often difficult for her to commit herself during the evenings or weekends or even holidays to take development, enrichment or advancement courses. For me, I felt guilty leaving my children again during the holidays. Even though I have had a taste of being a principal in a small elementary school where the principal's certificate was not required, I no longer have the necessary energy to take such advanced courses."

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2.2.4 Salaries

Achieving a uniform salary scale was an important victory for women teachers. Educational historians point out that the profession became "feminized" during the last century because women would accept lower salaries than men, and women teachers came to be seen as a bargain by parsimonious school trustees. This budgetary advantage coincided conveniently with the public's willingness to believe that women were ideally suited to the nurturance and instruction of young children. Powerless to change their status from such vulnerable positions, women teachers were nonetheless castigated by their colleagues (and often by their fledging teacher organizations) for accepting intolerable conditions:[11]

> *"I have 97 female teachers and the magnificent number of one male teacher in 20 municipalities. Seventy-six female teachers receive from $64 to $72 salary; 21 a little over $100. I have done deploring, or rather I will deplore no more the fate of most of these young ladies for I know by experience that they are the direct authoresses of their own misfortune and that because they take situations at the lowest price." [Cochrane, 1981][12]*

Because all Canadian teachers are now subject to a common salary schedule, the question of salary differential is often excluded from discussions of gender equity in the profession. And, indeed, it is true that males and females in the same jurisdiction with identical qualifications, experience and assignment will be paid the same. However none of these three determinants is free from the influence of gender. The average female teacher in Canada earns only about 90% of her male colleague's salary; the average female administrator earns closer to 92%. While these figures are much closer to equity than women in most occupational groups can claim (women currently earn roughly $0.61 for each $1.00 earned by men in full-time employment), the gap is still significant.

TABLE D

Canadian Average Teacher Salaries, selected years

Years	Actual Dollars	1981 Dollars
1959-60	$ 3,683	$ 11,729
1969-70	$ 7,287	$ 17,773
1979-80	$22,468	$ 25,273
1989-90	$44,382	$ 28,054
1990-91	$46,810	$ 28,013

Source: CTF, Economic Services Bulletin, April 1992.[13]

TABLE E

Average teacher salaries, by gender and differential, for selected years

Years	Female	Male	$ Differential	Ratio F:M
1972-73	$ 9,186	$ 12,094	$ 2,908	.76
1985-86	$35,115	$ 41,053	$ 5,938	.86

Source: Progress as Paradox.[14]

TABLE F

Average teacher salaries, by gender and differential, selected provinces and groups, selected years

Year	Group	Female	Male	$ Differential	Ratio F:M
1989-90	BC	$40,589	$47,726	$7137	.85
1989-90	SASK	36,699	41,141	4492	.89
1989-90	PEI	36,719	40,604	3885	.90
1989-90	ONT Elem.	44,043	49,160	5117	.89
1989-90	ONT Sec.	47,284	50,946	3662	.92
1990-91	MAN	43,151	47,857	4706	.90
1991-92	NS	45,982	50,792	4810	.91
1991-92	NB (French)	40,634	45,580	4946	.89

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

In addition to being determined by qualifications and experience, average salary statistics are affected by administrative allowances. Although gender-differentiated data factoring out administrators' salaries are not easy to obtain, the following is illustrative:

Table G

Average teacher salaries, by gender, excluding administrators receiving allowances, selected provinces, selected years

Year	Province	Female	Male	$ Differential	Ratio F:M
1989-90	BC	$39,582	$44,132	$4550	.89
1991-92	MAN	42,645	46,305	3360	.92
1991-92	NS	45,650	49,299	3649	.93
1991-92	NB	40,289	43,077	2788	.93

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

MacLeod reports that in 1985/86, the difference in earnings between male and female principals was $4,784. Only one organization supplied data on principals' salaries by gender for Progress Revisited. BCTF reports that for 1989-90, the difference favouring males was $2,778. Principals' salaries, of course, are determined by qualifications and experience criteria, but the amounts of most administrative allowances are also factors of the size of the school administered, the number of teaching and non-teaching staff assigned to the school, and perhaps the number of students enroled. Research which identifies the extent to which gender patterns can be found with respect to these variables is lacking. No CTF Member was able to supply information, by gender, on the nature of administrative assignments. Perhaps no pattern which assigns women to smaller schools exists; perhaps "grandfathering" administrative allowances is more gender-neutral than it sounds. At present, there is no way of knowing.

Is salary difference an equity issue? It can be argued that all teachers have the same access to the criteria which determine salary levels, and that it is therefore not a problem beyond the consequences of individual choice. Others would argue that a profession numerically dominated by women is a strange place in which to entrench a system which financially rewards the career patterns of men: late entry (often with higher qualifications), uninterrupted service (except for leave for education purposes which usually does not interfere with years of experience) and earlier rather than later entry into positions gaining administrative allowances. At the very least, it is puzzling that at least half the organizations representing teachers apparently neither collect nor publish information which would encourage a more informed discussion of these questions.

2.2.5 Pensions

Some teachers in Canada began to have access to pension plans as early as the mid 1850's. Philosophically, the costs of "*providing for the old age of teachers*" was considered a joint responsibility of the individual and governments, since:

> "*teacher retirement plans are regarded as a benefit to the whole system of education by attracting qualified teachers, enhancing teacher morales(sic) and providing a dignified exit for teachers whose usefulness has been undermined by age or disability (p.11)*"[15]

The degree of "dignity" pensions have provided has been based, in theory, on the service one has provided. In reality, however, sex mandates benefits. Similar to most other items in the basket of contract-determined benefits, pensions, while ostensibly gender-neutral in construct and application, are in fact determined by factors which are gender-typical. As long as the highest levels of benefit at the youngest age can be obtained only through consecutive, uninterrupted service at maximum or maximum-plus-allowance salaries, the typical male teacher will benefit more than the typical female teacher.

Relatively speaking, it is probably true that women teachers are fortunate when compared with other employed Canadian women, since in 1990-91:

- 60% of women over 65 had annual incomes under $8,000.
- 63% of working women did not have employer-sponsored pension plans.
- Approximately 70% of private pension plans did not have survivor benefits for spouses.[16]
- Men (52.1%) were more likely than women (37%), if they were employed full time, to belong to a pension plan.[17]

In commenting on teacher pension plans in Canada, no attempt will be made to replicate the existing summaries and comparisons of features of these plans. Instead, it is sufficient to review the available data which results in different superannuation outcomes for men and women.

Factors Influencing Benefits

Salary

Virtually all pension plans base benefit levels on the average salary earned in the last few years prior to retirement. Higher salaries result in higher benefits. On average, women's salaries throughout their careers are lower than men's:

- The ratio of female to male average teacher salaries, 1990-91, was .91(e) (derived from table E)
- The ratio of female to male average teacher salaries, 1972-73, was .76 (table E)

Leaves of Absence

Benefits are determined, in part, by years of contributory service. Some short and longer-term absences can be "bought back", but this rarely applies to extended leave for raising children:

- Of those teachers taking a leave of absence of one year or more (thus excluding shorter maternity leaves), women were far more likely to have taken leave for "family reasons" than men, and men approximately three times as likely to have taken leave for education purposes. (figure 3.3.2.1) Typically, more favourable contribution possibilities exist for the latter.

Part-time Employment

Part-time employment decreases both credited years of service and average salary:

- Approximately 90% of all part-time teachers are female (table L)
- Female part-time teachers earn between 10 and 20% less than male part-time teachers (table M)

Recent changes in teacher pension plans have reduced the impact of some of these factors, but it is impossible to compensate teachers retroactively. For example, in all plans except Manitoba's, while it is possible to buy back pension credits for periods of absence related to maternity, it is not possible to compensate for this factor in calculating the pensions of those who have already retired. With few exceptions, superannuated teachers cannot benefit from changes made to the terms and thus

now-extinguished plan provisions such as differentiated benefits for surviving spouses (based on the sex of the teacher who died) persist in the reality of pensions even if they have ceased to exist as current provisions.

In consequence, it is not difficult to understand how figures such as the following result from a "pension paradigm" which has assumed males' career patterns to be both the norm and normative:

- *Of those eligible for an unreduced full pension in 1990 in Ontario, 40.3% were women and 50.7% were men. (Source: OTF Communication)*

- *Of all teacher pension benefits paid in 1990 in Ontario, the average paid to women was $17,180 and to men $26,987. In other words, the average woman superannuate received 63 cents for every dollar received by the average male superannuate. (Source: OTF)*

- *In Prince Edward Island, although in 1990 women were more than twice as likely as men to qualify for an "unreduced, full pension", average benefits show a familiar pattern, with men's average pension paid by the plan exceeding women's by almost $5,500 per year. (Source: PEITF)*

- *In Quebec, 1991, 64.8% of all former teachers receiving less than $2,500 in pension benefits were women. 72% of all former teachers receiving more than $25,000 per year in pension benefits were men. (Source: PAPT)*

- *There is a gap between expectations and experience. While King and Peart report that women expect to retire at a younger age than men, available data suggest women, on average, are older than men when they superannuate. (Source: OTF, PEITF, PAPT)*

To what extent does the prospect of an apparently secure pension influence practising teachers' perspectives on the quality of their (work)lives? The information available to answer this question is limited. The King and Peart study suggests that the prospect of a secure pension, predictably, is limited in attracting new teachers but that this factor grows in importance as teachers age. Gender differences are not reported, but the issues discussed in section 3.2.2 with respect to the more altruistic inclinations of women entering and remaining in the profession might influence their perspective on pensions.

"I had taught full time at another high school up until my youngest son was 2 years old. I felt I was missing so much of my children's growth and development that I requested a leave of absence. The support I received from my husband, male principal and male superintendent was very strong though I was valued as a very effective classroom teacher. In spite of the financial loss I have no regrets – in fact the one year turned to three! When the school board finally said either resign or come back to work, I understood this."

"When my son was born I was almost 35 and on my own. I was home for 2.5 months with him. It had been a horrendous delivery and I was very weak. It took me until well into spring to recover - he was born in early October. Anyway, my then teaching partner (and close friend) was exerting a lot of pressure on me to return to work - she was complaining a lot about having to "coach" the substitute, etc, etc. I spent a long time in advance preparing for the sub! ... So in spite of my doctor's strong recommendation that I stay home several more months, I returned to work after the Christmas holidays. I wish I knew what I know now. My physical health (and my son's emotional well-being) were very shaky. It seems to me in retrospect that was the first occasion on which I "sold him out" for what other people wanted against my better judgement."

There was a time when the complexity of discussing pensions, calculating benefits and developing priorities for change were almost exclusively the purview of male teachers. Whether this has changed substantially is a subjective conclusion at best, although perhaps one could read something into the fact that of 18 staff officers named as CTF's "pension contact" in Member organizations, only 3 are female.

2.2.6 Maternity Leave

Both inside and beyond the teaching profession, maternity, paternity, parental and adoption leaves have been among the few areas of negotiated contract undergoing substantive reconceptualization. Within education, some jurisdictions have moved quickly; others have achieved only token improvements. In general, the area of family-related leaves shows greater disparity than is tolerated across other benefit areas. Family leave provisions collectively signal what employers and employees believe, not just what they can afford.

The booklet "Bargaining for Women in the 80s" published by the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario summarized the family-related leave conditions which applied to most women teachers prior to 1990:

> *" It used to be that women teachers who became pregnant were forced or encouraged to resign. The law now guarantees some maternity leave, but women who have children today can still document a litany of penalties they face for child-bearing.*
>
> *Let's take the example of John and Mary Doe who both work as teachers for the Best Board of Education. They are both at year 3 in category A4 and they make $30,000 each. John and Mary decide to have a baby.*
>
> *What happens to Mary? Mary and John cannot choose which one of them will bear the child or which one of them will assume the physical conditions associated with pregnancy and child-bearing. John will be supportive, but the job is all Mary's. Mary will inevitably take some form of pregnancy leave, probably the statutory leave of 17 weeks. Although the law guarantees Mary a job upon return from this leave, Mary is not necessarily guaranteed her same class or even her same school. While on leave, Mary will lose*

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almost $13,000 in salary. UIC will pay her $4,455. Lucky Mary! Mary may lose credit toward her increment and toward her seniority for the period she is on leave. And Mary may have to pay both her share and the Board's share of premiums for any insured benefits she carries.

What happens to John? John stays in school, continues to get paid, continues to accrue credit for seniority and increment and continues to have the Board pay its share of his insured benefits. John is congratulated, patted on the back and viewed by all as a responsible family man. John will probably get a day off with pay to watch Mary have the baby.

What can you do to help remedy this and to recognize the important role that women like Mary play in today's society? Start by having a look at your collective agreement:

- *What are the provisions for pregnancy leave? For extended leave? Does a teacher on such a leave continue to accrue credit for increment and seniority?*
- *Do you have paid parental leave? Do you have a UIC Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) Plan?*
- *Does the Board continue to pay its share of insured benefits during parental leave?*
- *What are the provisions for adoption leave?*
- *Are there any protections against unsafe working conditions for a pregnant teacher?"*[18]

These questions began to be taken up by teachers and their organizations. Linda MacLeod noted in 1988 that there were signs of advances which would *"recognize the legitimacy of women's life patterns and give the first glimmer of credibility to policies which recognize the inevitable overlap between work and family responsibilities."*[19]

Improvements to parental-related benefits were driven both by new social realities, including increased labour force participation by pregnant women and mothers of infants, and by an increased sense of entitlement on the part of women. Changes also came about where political will determines bargaining objectives, men began to assert their interests in becoming more active participants in the care of newborn children.

"I hear younger teachers talk about concerns of maternity leave, seniority, childcare, and I think how naive I was when I had my two daughters. I was concerned about continuing teaching. It was my job! My source of income! My independence! But I didn't look at the future. I thought I would be able to stay home soon and do the wife and mother thing the right way. But that didn't happen. My husband died 18 months ago. My daughters are 20 and 17 years old. I now have to work. I think about whether or not the job/money was a fair trade for time away from home for me but more importantly for my family."

However, in contrast with most contract areas, questions of legal entitlements began to influence agreements. Some court decisions appeared to suggest that to discriminate on the basis of pregnancy was by definition to practice sex discrimination, and also that there could be cause for men to challenge contracts which did not provide them with the same options and benefits to which women were entitled. Gradually a benefit area which had often used Labour Standards legislation and UIC provisions as both the minimum allowed by law and the maximum to be negotiated began to receive new attention.

Against this backdrop, a new set of characteristics of the ideal benefit package was being formulated. Bargaining goals often did not focus on higher percentages or incremental gains: entirely new benefits and clauses were introduced and, perhaps most importantly, decision-making was to be shifted away from employers and physicians to teachers themselves. Over time, the following principles of desirable contract provisions emerged:

"I am pleased to see that today, women have better maternity leave than before. I had seven children, among them six in six years, at a time when maternity leaves did not exist. Later, I had to buy back these years (a total of five years and four months) in order to bring me up to date, as it were, in years of service. I don't feel very good about this. It bothers me to feel that I am more or less punished because I wanted to give life."

1. Parental-related leave should be designed to serve those requiring/desiring such leave rather than the administrative convenience of employers.
2. Parental leave should be seen as an entitlement rather than as a concession.
3. Pregnant women and new mothers should not be financially penalized for performing these most necessary societal roles.
4. Illness resulting from pregnancy should not be treated differently from any other illness. To deny pregnant women access to their sick leave entitlements is to discriminate on the basis of sex.
5. Absence due to maternity leave should not result in lost seniority, lost pensionable service, loss of access to insurance benefits or to promotional considerations.
6. Absence due to parental leave should not entail more restrictive conditions than leaves for other purposes, such as educational or sabbatical leaves.

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7. Childbirth and childcare can be uncertain and unpredictable. Maximum flexibility regarding commencement and termination of parental-related leaves is essential.

8. Access to extended parental/adoption leave must be equally available to men and women.

9. While the right to return to the same or similar position must be ensured, it must be possible to adjust the assignment to accommodate the teacher's needs.

10. Conditions of adoption leave must closely resemble those describing leave for "natural" parents.

11. Contracts must recognize the legitimacy of both short and longer-term leaves related to parenting and that "family responsibility" leave is required by all adults with a continuing responsibility for children.

Where there has been progress in achieving these goals, with a few exceptions progress has been made only in those areas where there has been a fear of contracts (and perhaps parties to the negotiations) being found in violation of human rights legislation. It is difficult to think of another contract area in which legal action (or its anticipation) rather than teachers' political will has played such a key role.

The implications of court rulings will continue to be felt in teacher contracts. For example, the Parcels decision summarized in the following way by the Globe and Mail raises questions about the legality of different rules for different types of leave:

> *" A recent Alberta Court of Queen's Bench decision about maternity benefits is having an effect in other provinces.*
>
> *Susan Parcels had been asked to prepay 100 per cent of premiums to continue certain employee benefits coverage during her maternity leave from the Alberta Hospitals Association. But employees on sick leave were only asked to pay 25 per cent of premiums.*
>
> *The case ended up in court, which ruled that pregnant employees must be treated in substantially the same way as others.*
>
> *The implications of the Parcels decision for employers are wide-ranging, says Calgary lawyer Cynthia Walker, a consultant for William M. Mercer Ltd.*

It means that in most provinces employers may not exclude pregnant employees from any kind of benefits provided for others. Nor may employers impose on them any significant greater burden or costs.

British Columbia, Ontario and Quebec are exceptions because they have specific legislation permitting discrimination on the basis of pregnancy in employee benefit plans. Ontario and Quebec, however, are considering changing this legislation .....

Now the courts are saying it is unfair to impose all the costs of pregnancy on one half of the population."[20]

While the article points out that certain provinces have "declared" that discrimination on the basis of pregnancy is not sex discrimination, it may not be possible much longer for jurisdictions to simply opt out on equality issues, as this analysis of labour arbitrations suggests:

"I was one of these women who lost her sick leave when she gave birth, even though I was not even sick. I see this as discrimination against teaching mothers. Happily, this situation has been corrected in New Brunswick for several years now."

"... where it is established that there are medical complications, such as back pains, emotional stress, varicose veins, or an introverted uterus, which pre-existed and/or which were aggravated by the pregnancy, or where the pregnancy is itself abnormal and causes physical or emotional trauma, arbitrators have consistently held that those employees are entitled to (sick leave) benefits, unless the agreement provides otherwise, although some arbitrators and courts have held that an agreement's denial of sick-leave benefits for a portion of a pregnancy due to pregnancy-related illness violates human rights legislation."[21]

Changes to benefit packages which have used provincial/territorial labour standards legislation will also need to reflect recent changes to UI legislation. Before November 1990, new mothers and adoptive parents were entitled to 15 weeks of unemployment insurance (UI) benefits. Now a two-tier system is in place; in addition to 15 weeks of UI maternity benefits, 10 weeks of UI benefits can be taken by either parent or split between the two parents within one year after the birth or adoption of a child.

This tendency to provide benefits in a 'gender-neutral' manner was noted by Linda MacLeod, who observed:

" The one trend which may signal cause for alarm is the tendency for boards to use equality arguments to benefit men more than women. Thus, men and women increasingly have equal access to adoption leave, and paternity leave policies have grown much more quickly than paid maternity leave options. One provincial Federation employee mentioned that they recently went in to bargain for paid maternity leave and left with a paternity leave agreement instead.

Once again contradiction rears its head. This type of result illicits simultaneous celebration and dismay. Certainly, an emphasis on men's parenting roles is welcome, but in practice women still have more responsibility for child rearing and other household tasks. Do we applaud a symbolic advance that may in the long term encourage more men to take greater family responsibility, or do we object in favour of greater advances for women teachers <u>now</u>?"[22]

2.3 ***Administrator Demographics***

Few issues within the gender-equity debate have received as much attention as women's limited participation in decision-making at administrative levels. Indeed, some perceive this as the only education equity issue which receives debate. This focus has been criticized as misdirected by both women and men disinterested in administrative roles, and a peculiar focus for a profession which attracts relatively few with ambitious personal goals, and which is characterized by a relatively non-hierarchical structure. Perhaps administration draws attention because symbolically it represents being valued, and women may feel collectively devalued within their profession, by their employers, and perhaps by themselves. Others would say that administration isn't a symbol but rather a meaningful and important role for anyone with ability who wishes to influence students and teachers for the better.

"A lot of women are afraid of committing themselves. They are quite satisfied with their little routine. Yet so many of them would be capable of holding administrative positions! There are several fears, like that of having a man preferred for a position even if qualifications and seniority are equal. This has happened in the past ..."

"How else could we explain that in a female-dominated profession, a majority of administrative positions are held by men?"

This section will not attempt to summarize the voluminous literature regarding women's exclusion, reluctance, or performance as administrators, but rather restrict itself primarily to reporting trends in participation and offering some observations on quality-of-life implications.

"In 1986/87 across Canada, excluding Quebec, "one quarter of male teachers in public schools were principals, vice-principals or department heads; the corresponding proportion for female teachers was 6%. Between 1972-73 and 1985-86, the overall percentage of principals that were women actually fell from 17% to 15%. This percentage loss came entirely from a decrease in the proportion of elementary school principals that were women from 20% to 17%. In fact, women increased their representation among principals at the secondary level from 4 to 6%, but this slight gain was not enough to counteract losses at the elementary level since the numbers of women and principalships at the secondary level are much lower than at the elementary level."[23]

Since 1985-86, the last year of available data included in Progress as Paradox, the number of schools at the elementary and secondary levels has stabilized to some extent, and familiar patterns are emerging:

TABLE H

Percentage of women in teaching, by level of responsibility by province and territory, 1979-80 and 1989-90

Year/Position of Responsibility	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	Que.[1]	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.	Yuk.	N.W.T.	Total[2]
1979-80													
Principal	21.7%	10.9%	26.2%	21.4%	N/A	11.6%	16.1%	10.9%	12.5%	8.1%	4.8%	16.9%	13.3%
Vice-Principal	20.6	24.2	23.4	22.9	N/A	13.4	12.6	14.6	19.6	8.9	10.0	17.9	15.7
Department Head	12.8	20.4	31.0	27.3	N/A	21.0	19.0	19.2	25.0	20.1	0.0	66.7	21.3
Teacher	58.4	65.5	63.9	65.7	N/A	59.3	56.3	58.6	61.0	54.8	64.9	58.9	59.2
1989-90													
Principal	21.8%	11.3%	22.3%	22.6%	26.7%	19.4%	23.5%	15.5%	17.5%	17.0%	36.0%	31.7%	20.6%
Vice-Principal	24.5	20.7	32.0	23.4	28.5	33.1	33.1	23.8	26.1	25.4	28.6	26.3	29.2
Department Head	13.8	24.4	28.8	27.5	0.0	30.8	43.8	34.2	25.5	31.4	-	-	30.9
Teacher	58.7	63.3	62.4	66.0	65.2	65.4	57.7	62.0	63.9	59.5	63.9	65.0	63.9

[1] Quebec data is unavailable for 1979-80, and 1989-90 data for department heads are included with teachers.
[2] Canada figure for 1979-80 excludes Quebec.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Salaries and Qualifications of Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, Cat #81-202 Annual, 1979-80, table 1.
Statistics Canada, Education Statistics Bulletin, Vol 13, No 6, Cat #81-002, September 1991, table 3.
Statistics Canada, Unpublished Information.

At first glance, figures such as the 1989-90 total for principalships (20.6%) would appear to confirm a marked improvement over 1979-80 (13.3%). However, it must be noted that only the 1989-90 average includes Quebec (and its consistently above-average figure of 26.7%) which effectively inflates 1989-90 over 1979-80 figures. As well, the percentage of the female teaching population increased during this decade by 4.7%. If a factor of 4.7% is applied to 13.3%, then a status-quo figure, overall, would be 13.9%. Even without adjusting for a changing percentage of women teachers within each province/territory, the percentage of female administrators in one province declined, two provinces were within one percentage point of their proportions ten years earlier, and the most dramatic gains were achieved by the two territories representing only .4% of the teacher population. Among the other provinces, the largest proportional gains were achieved in those provinces in which women's participation in the profession had increased by the greatest amount. The most optimistic reading of these figures suggests a rate of change of no more than 1% per year, which, if mathematics were to be the only intervening variable, would bring women to numerically equal administrative representation in the year 2022, and to representation reflecting women's current participation rate in the profession in the year 2032.

"I have been working since I was 16 years old. I started teaching at 17. I have been a vice-principal for about 8 years. When I was pregnant with my first child there was an opening for a vice-principal at the school I still work at. I was called to the office and told by the principal that I had been marked for the job but couldn't get it now. I thought that was an honour and didn't feel very disappointed. Another female (older and friend of the principal) got the job. When she retired I got and now have the V.P. position."

Participation rates for women as vice-principals demonstrated more sustained and uniform increases during this decade, with five provinces/territories exceeding 30% for the first time. Department head figures show considerable fluctuation from a decline in one province to a doubling in another, although it should be remembered that even in 1972-73, women made up 42% of department heads.[24]

"When the announcement about the availability of vice-principal/principal openings arrived at the school, it should have been "posted" as are all other announcements, but re this case - the principal gave it directly to a male who was taking the <u>same</u> principals' qualifications course as I was. The principal had given us <u>both</u> recommendations related to attendance at the principals' course. The comment from the principal was "I'm sorry, I just didn't think of you when I saw the notice."

Refinements of this data to show elementary/junior/secondary administrative placements, regrettably, are generally not available. However, the following suggests a pattern believed to be typical of other provinces/territories, and demonstrates gendered patterns within administration itself.

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Women principals, by category, selected provinces and groups, selected years

YEAR	Province/Group	Primary/Elementary	Junior/Intermediate	Secondary
1989-90	PEI	100%	0%	0%
1990-91	ONT	90	.7	9.31
1991-92	NB (French)	80.0	11.1%	8.8%

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

Women vice-principals/assistant principals, by category, selected provinces and groups, selected years

YEAR	Province/Group	Primary/Elementary	Junior/Intermediate	Secondary
1989-90	PEI	83%	16%	0%
1990-91	ONT	74.4	.9	24.7%
1991-92	NB (French)	66.6	20%	14.3%

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

Women department head/equivalent, by category, selected provinces and groups, selected years

YEAR	Province/Group	Primary/Elementary	Junior/Intermediate	Secondary
1989-90	PEI	50%	0%	50%
1990-91	ONT	4.47	.73	94.8%
1991-92	NB (French)	0	21%	79%

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

2.3.2 Senior and Board-level Administrators

There is great diversity in how Canadian school boards are created, administered and staffed, making inter-provincial/territorial comparisons somewhat difficult. However, representative data demonstrate that the more senior the position, the less likely that it will be held by a woman.

TABLES J -- ***Senior and board-level administrators***

Chief executive/administrative officer, by gender, expressed in numbers and as a percent of each category, by selected province/group, for selected years

YEAR	Prov/group	Female	Male	Total	% Female
1990-91	BC	3	72	75	4.0%
1988-89	ALTA	4	96	100	4
1989-90	SASK	7	125	132	5.3
1989-90	ONT	4	117	121	3.3
1990-91	MAN	1	56	57	1.8
1991-92	NB (English)	3	21	24	12.5
1991-92	NB (French)	3	12	15	20

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

"Second Level" board administrators, by gender expressed in numbers and as a percent of each category, by selected province/group, for selected years

YEAR	Prov/group	Female	Male	Total	% Female
1988-89	ALTA	66	109	175	37.7%
1989-90	SASK	14	44	58	24.1
1989-90	ONT	2	25	27	7.4
1991-92	NB (English)	4	11	15	26.7
1991-92	NB (French)	1	4	5	20

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

There are at least two ways to view these data. The optimist would conclude that, given the conservatism of education, it is only natural that women should expect to spend time "paying their dues" at middle-management levels, and that inevitably women will succeed men as Board CEO's. A pessimist would contend that the figures suggest protection of male hegemony rather than the nurturing of future leaders, a strategy of ensuring women are still under the line supervision of men while assuaging those concerned about gender equity. It is impossible to know exactly what constitutes reality; no doubt each setting is attended with multiple versions of the story explaining why things are the way they are. At any rate, the argument that "women have taken over" is apparently as credible as most National Enquirer headlines.

"Women are at a distinct disadvantage in that it is they who often give up their roles for the advancement of their spouse."

2.3.3 Administration and Quality of Life

The vices and virtues of administration are frequently discussed from a somewhat distant vantage point, and often from a position which makes appropriate recognition of quality of life factors difficult. In contrast with this research style, FWTAO published in 1991, Go For It: Barriers to Women's Promotion in Education.[25]

The study set out to test the validity of several hypotheses describing women's experiences with and attitudes towards administrative roles. One would expect substantial receptivity for this report, given that the province of Ontario is committed to employment equity, which requires that by the year 2000 fifty percent of vice-principals, principals and superintendents must be female. Whatever may befall the report, it is clear from these findings that "receptivity" does not describe the experience of many aspiring women teachers. The report's introduction reminds readers:

> *"Attitudes and systems continue to be barriers to change. People who hold power do not often willingly share it and may not help to make comfortable the lives of people who demand to share it. Action by decision-makers is too often slow, reluctant, grudging and inadequate. Government pronouncements are better than nothing, but what is needed, as we have always known, along with a change of attitudes and systemic changes is most of all strong legislation, energetically enforced."*[26]

The complete findings of this study are too numerous to be described in detail, however, of particular importance to this report are its findings related to quality of life. Women who lived the job of administration, aspirants and those in a position to appoint women were in general agreement that "family responsibilities", "isolation of women at this level" and "political nature of the job role" were all disincentives for women. Sources of encouragement for women, including leadership training, female support groups, mentors and networks were identified. Board decision-makers, particularly in non-urban boards, were seen as passive if not active deterrents to women's advancement.

"As a female primary teacher and new mom I have started to become extremely concerned with the dual responsibility of being a good parent and a good teacher. I am aware of the time needed to be an effective educator and that doesn't fit the 9-3 schedule perceived to be the workday of an ordinary teacher. I am also painfully aware of the small amount of time I get to spend with my son, from 7am to 8am in the morning and usually 5:30 pm to 7pm at night - a grand total of 2.5 hours a day. Maternally I feel I am abandoning responsibility for my son, while at the same time, professionally I would like to strive towards an administrative position - which would require even more time away from home, night meetings, late afternoons, working weekends. After all, isn't that the life of most administrators (typically male). It seems to be a no win situation, yet many males seem able to balance both roles nicely. But then I wonder are these males the primary caregivers at home?"

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The research conclusions of Go For It! include the following statements:

- *There is evidence that the strong commitment of key administrators is associated with success in breaking through the "glass ceiling" of senior administration.*
- *The concept, if not the practice, of Affirmative Action is playing a role in changing the climate positively for promotion to top level positions.*
- *Misinterpretation of the meaning of Affirmative Action and its effect on males in the system is widespread, and impedes its wholehearted acceptance.*
- *System-wide progress is minimal at the most senior levels.*
- *Although the battle is not won, the perception that women need to take on traditional male leadership practices in order to be successful appears to be receding in importance.*
- *There is increasing recognition that women-led schools create a positive and nurturing learning and work environment for students and staff.*
- *A significant number of women wish to be classroom teachers for the intrinsic value of teaching. Some of these women perceive that Affirmative Action undervalues women who choose not to aspire to Positions of Responsibility (PAR). Two damaging consequences result; an unnecessary erosion of self-confidence is created, and a potential peer support group for those women who do aspire to PAR may instead become defensive and unsupportive.*
- *Some women are not choosing administration because of their perception that a male leadership style is necessary to administer successfully, and they do not wish to adopt this style.*
- *Women are finding ways to integrate their female strengths into leadership roles, thereby adapting these roles, although for the trail-blazers it has often been a difficult and lonely task. Not only is the level of acceptance of female leadership styles growing, these styles are becoming increasingly valued.*
- *Evidence overwhelmingly confirms the hypothesis that family responsibilities remain a major concern, and*

"I am female in an administrative position and I want to have children. There seem to be so many barriers that the whole idea is overwhelming. First of all, the issue of time - need I say more? I already have 2-3 night meetings per week and I seldom arrive home before 6:30 p.m. each day. Then, of course, I'm zonked because I've been enthusiastic, energetic, optimistic, etc. all day and come home to an infant child who desperately needs the same enthusiasm, energy, etc.? My husband is quite supportive, but given his traditional home environment, I still have my "work" to do with him. The second issue, while related to time, is somewhat different - fairness. Can I do a good job of both – family and work? I think I can, but I'm scared. I am very organized and efficient and caring! To be a mother I must put my child first. It is a concern. How will my superiors view my roles?"

that more women would be interested in PAR if they could find a way to balance their professional and family lives.

- *The findings concerning women's suitability (i.e. "readiness") support the conclusion that while society's attitudes are changing, there is still resistance among a significant minority to the "appropriateness" of women taking on leadership roles and positions.*
- *There are no findings to support or disprove the hypothesis that women are not promoted because they take time off for childbearing or child rearing.*
- *Perceptions of bias at senior levels indicate either that decision-makers are biased, or that many women believe this to be true. In either case, some women will be deterred, either from their personal reluctance to challenge the bias or because the bias will operate if they do challenge it. The silence of senior officials, including the silence of inaction, is tantamount to consent.*
- *Female leadership styles are not the cultural norm, and thus are not yet legitimized.*
- *For these styles to be legitimized, there must be significant numbers of women exercising power at the highest administrative levels such as Director and Supervisory Officer. To be comfortable in a culture, the critical mass issue is not only how many of a given group there are, it is how much of the power they share.*
- *In spite of the difficulties, the overall message from respondents was that women should not let themselves be held back, but should Go For It![27]*

"With regards to the confidence of parents, teachers and students in our leadership capabilities, I believe that it can be acquired with time and with lots of work, tenacity and devotion."

"Finally, I'm not my mother and I find a great conflict here between what is expected and what I am prepared to give. In a very traditional community, I am often the rebel - I thought that went out with the dark ages!"

Given that Ontario teachers are unique in working for/with a year 2000 mandate for Employment Equity, the findings of this study cannot necessarily be generalized to different settings. The instruments used to conduct the research, however, are adaptable to a variety of situations, and can be found within the FWTAO report.

2.4 Women's Place

The "internally segregated" profession should be examined not only from the perspective of documenting

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women's absence or under-representation within certain roles, but also by examining the status and circumstances of those roles in which women are statistically over-represented. The former receives much more attention than the latter, raising questions about whether the women in education movement has truly divested itself of an absorption with the male standard as the preferred standard.

2.4.1 Substitute/Supply/On-Call Teachers

"Filling in" as a teacher is predominantly a female experience, and its circumstances are largely undocumented.

Only one teacher organization was able to supply data other than information on salary for this group of teachers. Only five teacher organizations could report an average or range of substitute daily rates of pay. The five which had data available (NSTU, BCTF, STF, OSSTF and MTS) reported a range from $58.11/day to $216.00/day.

The age, sex, working conditions, stresses and satisfactions of supply teachers have not been examined systematically, their presence appears to have been largely taken for granted. Considering supply teachers in most provinces and territories pay pro-rated fees to their organization, this lack of attention from their organizations has been taken by some as evidence of disinterest if not disrespect for this kind of "women's work". While some substitute teachers are male, experience suggests men tolerate this role either as an entry strategy leading to a full-time position, or as a way to accumulate partial years for contributory service purposes. While no doubt these motivations also exist for some female supply teachers, many more mid-career (or at least mid-age) women seem to be filling this capacity as a more permanent work-style.

The following data, provided by NTA, confirms that substituting is predominantly a female experience:

TABLE K

Number of substitute teachers by age group, by sex, 1990-91

Age Group in Years	Male	Female	Total
Less than 25	73	219	292
25-29	169	371	540
30-34	84	219	303
35-39	53	296	349
40-44	54	279	333
45-49	15	189	204
50-54	52	69	121
55-59	20	30	50
60 and over	14	17	31
Total	534	1,689	2,223

Source: Newfoundland Teachers' Association

No analysis of non-certified staff acting as substitute/supply/on-call teachers has been found, although many individuals have commented that some boards make use of available non-certified males rather than call on certified females. These may be unsubstantiated allegations, but it is impossible to refute them without the initiative of teacher organizations, along with Boards of Education, in monitoring use (and, perhaps, abuse) of supply teachers.

Substitute/supply/on-call teachers have been known to feel like the "poor sisters" of the profession, looked down upon as babysitters by their colleagues with a permanent contract. While "good" supply teachers are highly valued at the individual level, their valuing at the institutional level suggests a sizeable gap between this regard and their status and recognition within the organized profession.

2.4.2 Part-time teachers

Within the profession, no role is more gender-defined than that of part-time teacher. More than any other strategy, part-time teaching is the accommodation of choice for many women who believe it is the best solution for their quality of life dilemmas.

Part-time work is often seen as a creative response to dealing with the stress of combining and negotiating the demands of paid and unpaid work. As the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women argues, "*for women stress is largely derived from an unequal division of labour between men and women*".[28] Thus the vast majority of women who work part-time are accommodating not only their own priorities and the interests of their families, they are also reacting to a gendered division of labour and responsibility which is sanctioned by society. While wishing this were not so, the situation is hardly remedied by neglecting individual women who are making choices based on their own and others' apparent best interests.

"Neglect" may be a somewhat pejorative term, but the majority of CTF Member organizations were unable to report any of the following: the number of part-time teachers in their jurisdictions, their gender, their average income, their percentage of full-time employment, whether their status was "voluntary", their number of years of part-time status, whether they had a contractual right to "first call" on full-time employment, or their access to administrative positions. In many jurisdictions, there are more part-time teachers than administrators. They do not receive a comparable share of organizational attention.

In 1988, MacLeod reported that between 1972/73, and 1983/84, part-time teachers had increased from 2.4 to 8.1% of the total teaching population.[29] National data is no longer available, but the following suggests that numbers of part-time teachers continue to increase:

TABLE L

Number of part-time teachers, by gender, as a percent of all teachers; female part-time teachers as a percent of all female teachers and as a percent of all part-time teachers, by selected province/group, selected years

Year	Province/ Group	Female Part-time	Male Part-time	Female P-T as % of all teachers	Female P-T as a % of all female teachers	Female P-T as a % of all P/T
1989-90	BC	4181	333	14.0	24.6	92.6
1989-90	SASK	1394	112	10.9	19.4	92.5
1990-91	ONT	7722	923	8.71	11.54	89.32
1991-92	NB (French)	102	16	3.5	5.2	86.4
1991-92	PEI	121	19	8.4	14.3	86.4

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

Saskatchewan and Manitoba were able to provide salary information on part-time teachers:

TABLE M

Salary of part-time teachers, by gender, selected provinces, selected years

Year	Group	Female P-T	Male P-T	Ratio F:M
1989-90	SASK	18,776	20,547	.91
1989-90	MAN	24,378	30,618	.79

Source: Data supplied by CTF Members.

Given the ratios established in Table M, it would appear that males are slightly more likely than females to be teaching a greater percentage of time, although this figure could be influenced by the higher qualifications and greater experience of male teachers.

OTF figures suggest both male and female part-time teachers may be somewhat atypical of their profession with respect to qualifications.

TABLE N

Part-time teacher qualifications in Ontario, by gender, as compared to full-time teacher qualifications, by gender

Part-time Teachers	Female	Male	Total
No degree	24.7%	13.2%	23.5%
Master's degree	4.4	11.7	5.2

Full-time Teachers	Female	Male	Total
No degree	23.8	9.2	17.9
Master's degree	7.0	17.2	11.1

Source: Data supplied by OTF.

Male part-time teachers were more likely than male full-time teachers to hold no degree; the tendency was less pronounced among women teachers. Both men and women part-time teachers were less likely than full-time teachers to hold master's degrees, with the difference marginally more significant for women (ratio differential .08).

Experience comparisons between part-time and full-time teachers provided by STF show males and females tend to become part-time teachers at different career stages:

TABLE O

Comparison of male and female part-time and full-time teachers, by experience, expressed as a percent of all teachers of that gender category, 1989-90

Years of experience	Female part-time	Female full-time	Male part-time	Male full-time
< 4 years	24.0%	25.0%	25.9%	13.4%
5 - 14 years	65.9	40.7	31.3	28.4
15 - 24 years	8.0	26.4	15.2	41.0
> 25 years	1.8	7.9	27.6	17.1

i.e., Twenty-four percent of all female part-time teachers have less than 4 years of experience compared with 25% of all female full-time teachers.
Source: Data supplied by STF.

The greatest proportion of women full-time teachers has 5-14 years of experience, and most female part-time teachers are also from this cohort. In every other experience category, women part-time teachers are under-represented. Male part-time teachers are only somewhat more likely to be found in the 5-14 years of experience category compared with other male cohorts, and more likely than females to be either close to the beginning or the end of their careers. These data present quite different "age-and-stage" profiles for female and male part-time teachers, suggesting that their contractual support and professional development needs are likely to be quite different.

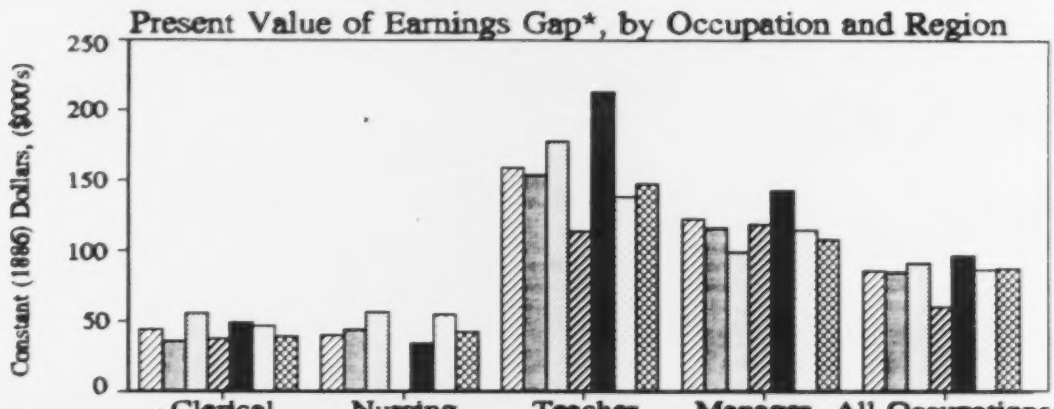
The assumption that all part-time assignments are either initiated by the teacher to accommodate personal circumstances, or else that they represent job-entry strategies in a tight employment market may be erroneous. One organization forwarded an internal memo which indicated that in surveying selected part-time teachers, it was found that the employing board had initiated more than half the requests for part-time assignments and that it had, in some cases, used the "family responsibilities" of the teacher as its reason; the same board, along with others, listed "teacher stress" as the explanation for both teacher and board-initiated reassignments to part-time teaching. Whether such pejorative assumptions about how women ought to accommodate competing demands are commonly held

is not known, nor is it known if a part-time assignment is generally seen as an appropriate substitute for Employee Assistance Program (EAP) services.

For most teacher groups, concerns regarding the benefits of part-time teachers have focused on parity. This undoubtedly constitutes an improvement over random disparity, but it falls short of framing a supportive response to women's needs. Resorting to a defense of "individual choice" may be tantamount to condoning inequity if choice is neither free nor informed. The costs are not insubstantial, as this excerpt from CTF's Economic Service Notes points out:

> **"Women Teachers Suffer Most from Career Interruption**
> *A new federal study says that women who interrupt their paid labour force activity in order to assume family duties are likely to suffer a sizable loss of earning capacity that may continue for many years after their re-entry into the labour force. According to the study, women who leave the work force for a decade or longer will experience present value post re-entry earnings losses typically exceeding $80,000 over the remainder of their working careers.*
> *The biggest losers are women teachers who step off the career ladder for a period, thereby losing many opportunities for promotion and pay raises. Only female managers in Saskatchewan and Manitoba are expected to sustain greater losses than teachers in these two provinces. According to the study, a 40 year old female teacher who re-enters her profession after a 10-year absence will forego present value earnings of nearly $159,000 over the remainder of her career. In comparison, a 40 year-old female nurse who resumes her career after a decade will suffer present value earnings losses amounting to about $40,000 over the remainder of her career.*
> *As shown in the chart and table, the study found that women teachers in Ontario had the most to lose in terms of earnings foregone as a result of a 10-year absence from the workforce. Meanwhile, female teachers in Saskatchewan and Manitoba would incur the lowest potential loss in earnings over the remainder of their teaching careers, an average of about $113,000."*[30]

Figure 2.4.2.1



	Clerical	Nursing	Teacher	Manager	All Occupations
Atlantic	$39,039	$42,046	$148,049	$108,173	$87,839
Que.	46,692	55,111	138,842	114,302	86,542
Ont.	48,906	34,030	213,446	142,326	96,968
Sask.-Man.	37,743	_	113,419	118,754	60,628
Alta	55,578	56,515	177,841	99,081	91365
B.C.	36,027	44,140	154,394	116,658	85,144
CDA	43,807	40,128	158,659	123,048	86,099

*Earnings gap of a female, age 40, re-entering the workforce after a 10 year absence.

Source: Richard Kerr, Report prepared for the Department of Justice and Status of Women Canada, An Economic Model to Assist in the Determination of Spousal Support, Spring, 1992.

It should be noted that while these calculations are based on "time-out" from the profession rather than part-time employment, it is apparent both the issues and the consequences to individual benefits are similar. If the impact on pension benefits were to be added to this calculation, and made widely known to teachers, perhaps women's choices would be different. While it would be utterly inappropriate to set out to discourage women from exercising choice, it is more than appropriate that the profession assist in ensuring choices are informed by an understanding of consequences.

Quality of (work)life, however, is much more than salary paid for hours taught. The question of teaching part-time and how it influences women teachers' lives is revisited in section 3.3.1.

2.5 *In a Mirror: Women in Teacher Organizations*

Teacher organizations operate within a complex framework influenced by forces within and outside organizational control. Historically, teacher organizations were established to protect the individual rights of teachers through ensuring commonality of treatment, and through working towards an improved general standard of rights and benefits. Soon after their establishment, teachers' organizations committed themselves to the improvement of qualifications and teaching practice as a means of enhancing the professionalism of teachers and service to communities. During the 1970's, with many of the foundational goals of teacher organizations achieved, increased attention began to be paid to the well-being of individual teachers and to their personal as well as professional needs. With differing degrees of confidence, teacher organizations also began to exert their influence on the political and social issues of the day.

Within these multiple roles, teacher organizations must accommodate several sets of dualities: the conservatism of protecting hard-won benefits with the activism required to make progress in new employer-employee environments; the need to ensure the interests of the majority while still servicing the interests of the individual; the occasional contests between assigning resources to promoting the professional or economic welfare of teachers. With more than enough to do pursuing these fundamental goals, organizations struggle to decide on which issues and to what extent they will venture into causes not mandated by the charters of their organizations. Teacher organizations can be torn between attending to issues over which they have moderate control, and those over which they can have only moderate influence.

2.5.1 *Influence and Responsibility*

During the last two decades, every Canadian teacher organization has struggled with the role of women in the profession, and in particular with the role of women within the organizations themselves. During the 1960's and 1970's it was more common than not to find

provincial/territorial teacher organizations lead and staffed exclusively by men. Fledgling movements, organized in different ways in the face of varying degrees of support and acrimony appeared within every organization. Overall, the influence of these groups and their ideas has been considerable, and at least at the level of policy, teacher organizations have joined those explicitly in favour of gender equity.

The development of women teacher-leaders has been an important component of "women's programs", and indeed the participation of women has increased more substantially within teacher organizations than it has in education generally. Although this change could be said to merely mirror women's advancement in Canadian society generally, the programs themselves would appear to have been influential. The majority of women in leadership positions at the provincial/territorial level have been closely associated with the "women's movement" inside their organizations prior to their elections to office or their appointments to staff positions. Other women teachers have found that their inclination to identify with an analysis of gender inequity increased markedly when they assumed a leadership position within an organizational structure still influenced by the values of what was once the preserve of white, late-career males.

Even as teacher organizations were beginning to question their adoption of a paradigm that suited ever-fewer individuals, women leaders still had to deal with the values of ministries, directors, superintendents, trustee leaders and the media. As new leaders recognized that teacher organization work rested more on influence than power, they realized their capabilities could be buried under the sexist preconceptions of others.

"Throughout my career, promotions came almost naturally, because, as it were, I was ready and there at the right time when there were openings. I did my master's degree in education part-time while teaching. I was also involved in the teacher association's committees and I was a member of the board for three years. My life as an administrator is rather demanding; however, it is also a life which brings me great satisfaction."

As Arlie Hochschild notes in "The Second Shift", career commitment is what you have when the needs of work and family collide, and work wins.[31] In general, while working for teachers has been enormously satisfying for many, its satisfactions have been gained at great personal cost. This has been true for both men and women, but women have had typically different kinds of conflicts to resolve in atmospheres not necessarily supportive of women's obligations and desires to live lives of balance. The pressures women feel to succeed are magnified by the lens of gender through which they are viewed.

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"My work includes assisting teachers to estimate reduced income due to disability or retirement. Only three or four times I encountered a direct comment such as 'I'd like a second opinion, a man's opinion on this." More disconcerting are the occasions when in the presence of a male colleague who has a different area of expertise, I provide the information requested and the follow-up question and eye contact are directed to my male colleague. It is easy enough to persist and respond but inside it feels as though I'm not visible, my knowledge suspect until rubber stamped by male authority."

In most teacher organizations, women are still not represented at the most senior staff levels, and they are more likely to be assigned internally to non-economic portfolios. The gender segregation of the profession within its own organizations may not be as dramatic as in the teaching force, but it still exists. At elected levels, women are comprising a greater proportion of decision-makers, a trend replicated in boards of education and municipal councils. Coincidentally, power appears to be shifting away from local and even provincial/territorial institutions as there is greater recognition that the movements which are reshaping education and Canadian life are propelled by national and international interests rather far removed from local events. Is it possible "women are allowed to play" only when the game matters less?

TABLE P

Elected officers of teacher organizations and CTF, by gender in numbers and as a percentage of the total

Teacher Organization	Female	Male	Total	Percentage Female	Percentage Male
BCTF	5	6	11	45.5%	54.5%
ATA	8	13	21	38.1	61.9
STF	3	7	10	30	70
MTS	7	8	15	47	53
OTF	15	45	60	25	75
AEFO	14	20	34	41.2	58.8
OECTA	4	5	9	44.4	55.6
OPSTF	1	9	10	10	90
FWTAO	31	0	31	100	0
OSSTF	3	4	7	42.9	57.1
PAPT	14	17	31	45.2	54.8
NBTA	10	22	32	31.2	68.8
AEFNB	10	12	22	45.5	54.5
NSTU	5	15	20	25	75
PEITF	3	6	9	33.3	66.7
NTA	5	10	15	33.3	66.7
NWTTA	9	13	22	40.9	59.1
YTA	21	12	33	63.6	36.4
CTF	8	22	30	26.7	73.3

Source: Data compiled by CTF for 1992-93 Staff Directory

TABLE Q

Presidents of Member organizations and CTF, by gender, 1982-83 to 1992-93

Teacher Organization	Female	Male
BCTF	1	4
ATA	2	2
STF	1	3
MTS	5	5
OTF	3	7
AEFO	1	5
OECTA	2	4
OPSTF	1	5
FWTAO	9	0
OSSTF	1	3
PAPT	1	2
NBTA	1	5
AEFNB	1	5
NSTU	1	4
PEITF	3	2
NTA	1	5
NWTTA	0	4
YTA	1	4
CTF	2	4

Source: Data provided by CTF Member organizations

TABLE R

"Professional Staff" of teacher organizations, by gender, in number and as a percentage of the total

Teacher Organization	Female	Male	Percentage Female	Percentage Male
BCTF	13	18	41.9%	58.1%
ATA	5	18	21.7	78.3
STF	4	12	25.0	75.0
MTS	8	14	36.4	63.6
OTF	4	4	50.0	50.0
AEFO	3	6	33.3	66.7
OECTA	9	14	39.1	60.9
OPSTF	4	11	26.7	73.3
FWTAO	35	--	100	0
OSSTF	8	21	27.6	72.4
PAPT	1	4	20	80
NBTA	1	5	16.7	83.3
AEFNB	1	2	33.3	66.7
NSTU	4	7	36.4	63.6
PEITF	0	3	0	100
NTA	2	7	22.2	77.8
NWTTA	1	2	33.3	66.7
YTA	0	0	0	0

Source: Data compiled by CTF for 1992-93 Staff Directory

TABLE S

"Senior Staff" of teacher organizations and CTF, by gender, 1992-93

Teacher Organization	Secretary General or equivalent		Assistant Secretary General or equivalent	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
BCTF	X			X
ATA		X		X
STF		X		X
MTS		X		X
OTF	X			
AEFO		X		X
OECTA		X		X
OPSTF		X		X
FWTAO	X		X	
OSSTF		X		X
PAPT		X	X	
NBTA		X		X
AEFNB		X		
NSTU		X		X
PEITF		X		
NTA		X		
NWTTA		X		
CTF		X		X

Source: Data compiled by CTF for 1992-93 Staff Directory

TABLE T

Leadership in local associations/branches or equivalent, by gender, as a percentage of total, selected teacher organization

Teacher Organization	President or equivalent	
	Female	Male
BCTF	41%	59%
ATA	30.5	69.5
STF	41.0	59.0
MTS	43.3	56.7
AEFO	50.5	49.5
OECTA	32.7	67.3
OPSTF	38.9	61.1
FWTAO	100	0
PAPT	34.3	65.7
NBTA	39.3	60.7
AEFNB	52.6	47.4
NSTU	33.3	66.7
PEITF	60.0	40.0
NTA	19.3	80.7

Source: Data compiled by CTF for 1992-93 Staff Directory

TABLE U

Participation in teacher organization standing/advisory committees, by gender, as a percent of total participation

Teacher organization	Female	Male
ATA	37.0%	63.0%
STF	61.0	39.0
OTF	38.1	61.9
OPSTF	24.2	75.8
FWTAO	100	0
AEFNB	48.9	51.1
NSTU	42.4	57.6
PEITF	48.9	51.1
NTA	49.2	50.8

Source: Data compiled by CTF for 1992-93 Staff Directory

It would be misleading to suggest that men and women comprise opposing camps within teacher organizations. Many men were early and influential advocates for women's greater voice and participation; some women have found the suggestion that women are collectively disadvantaged to be demeaning. Women argue and vote against each other much as men do on some issues. Yet when it is well known that polls on political issues demonstrate a "gender gap" of opinion which suggests men and women tend to see things differently and hold different priorities, it would be unwise to assume teacher organizations have not shifted to some extent because of women's participation.

Experience influences priorities. If the leadership of teacher organizations had rested almost exclusively in the hands of primary teachers or history teachers during the last five or six decades, it would be reasonable to assume some reflection of the experiences and priorities of these groups would have indelibly made their mark. It follows that our organizations have been shaped by a history of androcentric experience, and that they are being reshaped by a present of fragile near-equity. What the future holds will depend largely on the organizations' abilities to deal with quality-of-life issues for women. Unless this happens, only women prepared to replicate the old model will be able to function effectively as the profession's leaders.

2.6 *Affirming Equity*

Those with the ability to influence change in education systems have a range of options at their disposal, depending on their respective jurisdictions. Teacher organizations can express their beliefs through policy directed towards others (e.g. school boards and ministries), but the existence of these policies does not, by itself, indicate the relative priority of the statement or the tenacity with which action on the part of others will be lobbied. Teacher organizations have greater control over their own jurisdictions and can decide such-and-such shall happen (e.g., support staff shall have the right to extended parental leave benefits). School boards can translate policies into practice through the allocation of resources (e.g. to promote gender-equity inservice education). Ministries have these options at their disposal, but in addition they are in a position to mandate and not just encourage change.

Linda MacLeod summarized the growth of affirmative action/employment equity policies and programs in her 1988 report as follows:

"Most provinces/territories now have policies on affirmative action for women teachers, (only P.E.I. and Alberta have no policies), although affirmative action programs of local Boards are still not widespread outside Ontario and Quebec. In most provinces and territories, because the implementation of affirmative action programs is voluntary, provincial/territorial association members are still at the information spreading stage, trying to ensure that local Boards and associations are aware of the substance of the provincial/territorial policy on affirmative action, the need for affirmative action programs, and the existence of implementation models.

Ontario has been the leader in affirmative action programs. As early as 1973, the Ministry of Education requested that Boards establish a voluntary affirmative action program to increase women's representation in senior positions. In 1984, the Ministry announced an incentive fund to further encourage school boards to develop and implement an affirmative action program for their female employees. By 1986, 79% of school board employees worked for boards with affirmative action policies. In the 1987 Omnibus Bill to amend the Education Act, a clause was included empowering the Minister to require boards to establish and maintain a policy of affirmative action."[32]

Advances across Canada since 1988, with some notable exceptions, have not shifted philosophically from the position that the "under-utilization" of women in leadership positions is undesirable, that barriers should be identified and removed, and that Boards should set medium or long-term goals to assess change in women's participation in attaining professional goals. The phrases "affirmative action" and "employment equity" have become generic and they are used to describe a wide range of positions from those which rest primarily on educative strategies and good intentions to those few which are compliance and results-focused. As well, many affirmative action initiatives (such as that of Nova Scotia) have moved from recognizing women specifically (1988) to including "visible minority groups" (1989).

"I tend to believe that where I work, women have equal access to positions of responsibility in education. However, not all women have the necessary health or conditions to put in the time required."

Alberta and P.E.I., noted by MacLeod as not having endorsed policies by 1988, have both been active in building institutional support for affirming equity. In 1990, the Alberta Teachers' Association adopted for the first time a statement supporting employment equity, and urging the government of Alberta to foster board-sponsored programs. The policy refers to "goals and timelines" only insofar as it urges school boards to undertake programs to provide opportunities for women to become qualified for administrative positions.

In 1990, the Prince Edward Island Teachers' Federation requested their Department of Education to "*develop a comprehensive plan of action to promote equal opportunity and encourage gender equity ... including specific objectives and actions*". This proposal includes but is not limited to the hiring and promotion of teachers.

As an equality rights strategy, affirmative action/employment equity, when it refers to a concrete program rather than a vague set of intentions, has not been universally or easily endorsed by teachers, boards of education or the general public. The ill-informed can dismiss such programs as little more than "reverse discrimination", or the use of quotas to appoint incompetents. These arguments are very appealing to those who start from the assumption that appointments up until this time have been free of gender-preference and bias, and that the most competent individual has been appointed unfailingly in every competition. Because it

"The young women teachers are the hardest to convince of the inequities and women's issues. Perhaps they don't want the pain, the responsibility?"

is necessary to address these false premises before constructing an argument to support the structural interventions of AA/EE, the defense is much more complex than the criticism. Critics also tend to be convinced that there has been a massive takeover of educational leadership by women during the last decade.

Most would wish that remedying gender inequity could be accomplished without legislative intrusion, and without any individuals feeling that their personal career aspirations might be compromised as a result of reducing collective advantage. Yet, after two decades of "good intentions", it is hard to dispute that the facts demonstrate minimal advancement for women inside the profession in those domains controlled by external decision-makers. Women have increased their qualifications and experience, their aspirations are rising, and their expertise is being utilized inside their own organizations. Women's leadership styles are being endorsed (and, indeed, taught to men). Their numbers inside the profession are increasing. Each of these factors is related to leadership, and together they might suggest that a "free-market" approach to leadership appointments would eradicate the need for special measures to advance women. A knowledgeable assessment of the facts, however, leads inevitably to the conclusion that there are really only two choices: for women to remain under-utilized and under-represented or to adopt a concrete plan of change which obliges all parties to go beyond good intentions.

"I believe that women educators take on more responsibility and therefore have a more difficult task than men. It is high time that women learn to say no (i.e. that they take on less responsibility) and that men learn to say yes (i.e. that they take on more responsibility) in our schools. It is only then that we will be able to say that work in schools is evenly shared between women and men. That is my dream. When will it become reality? Probably not for some time because even today in 1993, the decision-making power on what happens in schools and how it happens rests with men. Clearly they see no advantage to a better allocation of tasks."

2.7 Teachers as Women

The last decade has seen an increasing awareness of the risks of being female. It has also been a time when pride in the value of women's priorities, the legitimacy of women's experience and the effectiveness of women's skills have been celebrated. This pride has supported women in new ventures, and reduced women's willingness to be held responsible for their own oppression. It has reduced women's tolerance for having their realities trivialized; in 1992 it is difficult to believe that less than ten years ago the first parliamentary mention of violence against women was met with spontaneous laughter.

These two parallel and near-countervailing trends of heightened vulnerability and heightened confidence have propelled the profession toward more assertive positions on issues of consequence to women because they are women, and not only because they are women teachers.

Recognition of the relevancy of "women's issues" to the profession has meant most often the development of policies, but more concrete actions have been taken as well. These include the presentation of briefs on employment equity, taking public positions on the desirability of a national childcare program, developing inservice education on gender equity issues for young women, funding special international development programs targeted to women, making donations to battered women's shelters, and supporting a number of other commendable initiatives which recognize that quality of life is mediated by gender.

Awareness has grown that issues common to women outside the profession also require attention within it. Understandably, it has sometimes been easier to condemn the outside world for the existence of certain harsh realities than to take responsibility for recognizing their existence closer to home.

2.7.1 Sexual Harassment

Spurred by membership and the progress of legislation, teachers have been obliged to consider issues such as sexual harassment within their own workplaces. Is sexual harassment a significant and frequent occurrence in women teachers' lives? There is no available evidence to answer this question. No study of women teachers which asks women about their own experiences has been identified. Data describe only those cases which are reported, and neglect the many cases which go unreported, situations which women attempt to endure, to resolve by themselves or to avoid by changing job assignments. Whether policies have deterred sexual harassment is also not known. Those who wish to know rather than speculate need to invest in information-gathering.

"My subject is harassment. I believe that women, especially in this profession, are victims of harassment or rather of abuse of power from principals, and that they don't have the necessary tools to face this fact. This happens fairly often in schools where the majority of the teaching staff are women and the principal and vice-principals are men. The quality of life of these women is not what it should be. Conferences on the subject would surely be useful in informing these teachers of their rights and also of their limitations. This happens far more often than you think."

The concept of sexual harassment could not exist prior to a shared cultural understanding that masculine prerogative ought not to extend to coercing sexual compliance. However, an analysis of the assumptions underlying the language of education policies, contract clauses and employed directives quite clearly demonstrates that there is a continuum of awareness of the nature and gravity of harassment, and a conflicted view of culpability and responsibility in the event of harassment. Ministerial statements, teacher organization and board policies are situated in various positions along this continuum:

- Some go to considerable lengths to emphasize the perception that sexual harassment is "gender-neutral", i.e.
  "A victim of sexual harassment may be male or female and the harasser may be male or female or of the same sex as the victim".(ministry statement)

- Some consider acts to be an offense only if the offender is consciously aware that the behaviour is inappropriate, i.e.
  "Sexual harassment ... is defined as any repeated sexual advances, remarks or behaviour that is demeaning that the person ... knows or ought reasonably to know is unwelcome".(board statement)

- Some view sexual harassment as existing only if it is repeated, i.e.
  "Sexual harassment should be defined as any repeated and unwelcome sexual comment, look, suggestion or physical contact that creates discomfort (etc)."(teacher organization policy)

- Some require a response which would require the exercise of more power than most victims have at their disposal, i.e.
  "The sexual harassment victim should tell the harasser to stop the offending conduct immediately. This may be done verbally or in writing. If possible, any verbal warning given a harasser should be given in the presence of a witness."(departmental policy)

  "A member shall, on making an adverse report on another member, furnish him with a written statement of the report".(teacher organization policy)

- Most policies recommend "remediation" well short of the punitive action available within the exercise of professional or managerial disciplinary powers, i.e.
  "Disciplinary measures taken will be influenced by a variety of factors including, but not limited to, the persistence of the harasser, the severity of the behaviour, and the willingness of the harasser to change his/her behaviour." (departmental policy)

  "(Following a complaint) "the personnel officer ... will express concern about the incidents to the other party and request that the behaviour cease. The expected outcome of the discussion is an informal resolution to the incident." (teacher organization internal policy)

Each of these examples is drawn from statements which no doubt reflect good intentions, but each suggests only a superficial recognition that sexual harassment is the abuse of power in a system in which power has been distributed by gender. Burglary exists by virtue of a single act of theft, not repeated acts of theft. Burglars are expected to know stealing is an offense; it is not up to the person robbed to instruct the burglar on the law or to record their conversations with the perpetrator. While mediation between a thief and his or her victim might be a desirable component of the aftermath of burglary, few would consider it complete resolution of the affair. Those who find the parallel between burglary and harassment inappropriate should be called upon to explain the differences.

There continues to be a perception of "dual victimization" with respect to sexual harassment and, in general, towards those charged with sexual offenses of any kind, the vast majority of whom are male. This remains one of the most problematic and contentious outstanding issues in reconceptualizing gender equity. The male who would never exploit women sexually is at some disadvantage in understanding the pervasive reality of gendered power-plays in the lives of women. By choosing not to act offensively, adult men can free themselves from experiencing the pathetic machismo of the harasser; women cannot choose whether or not they will become victims. While it is true that same-gender and female-male harassment exists, incidents of this kind, while

"As a young and female principal in a mostly male group of administrators I worked very hard to establish collegial relationships with my colleagues. It is "tradition" for all school administrators in my district to attend a three-day out-of-town retreat for professional development purposes. Predictably, the majority of the networking takes place during the after hours socialization activities."

"I had been principal for three or four years when I found myself wandering from room to room with a group of colleagues during an evening of socialization. We entered a room - it was not unusual for me to be the only female in a group of this kind - and a voice said quite clearly "Jump her!" The remark went unchallenged. I left. I never pursued the issue. The superintendent of schools had been in that room and had not challenged the remark. Within several years I left that district to work for a more enlightened employer."

perhaps deeply troublesome on a personal level, are mitigated by a shared cultural understanding that the perpetrators are deviating from cultural norms; victims are likely to be much more clear in their own minds that the offense is an offense. Women are more likely to see sexual harassment as inevitable, and since it is widely endorsed and denied, they know that to follow the route of involving others in dealing with a complaint is to wear the label of trouble-maker forever.

These comments on sexual harassment have been included in this discussion for three reasons. The first is the importance of the issue itself in determining quality of life of women. The second is to illustrate the interconnectedness of quality-of-life issues for women; it is not credible to believe that sexual harassment will continue unabated in the "outside world" but cease to exist in central offices, teacher organization offices and schools. Finally, it is included to point out that "having a policy" on an issue like sexual harassment is unlikely, alone, to discourage behaviour which is tacitly accepted, nor are policies which superficially support equity necessarily free of the assumptions which perpetuate inequity.

2.7.2 Women, Violence, Quality of Life and Schools

"If we mention violence of teachers towards students, I believe it is mostly verbal violence. Often, its victims are poor, powerless, less intelligent, weaker. Yet it is these children who need love the most."

"There is another type of violence I would like to mention, because my children speak of it at home: violence between children. They can be quite cruel toward each other. Lately, I noticed that more and more frequently, there is physical violence between children, because girls are winning more and more battles between girls and with boys. How do we remedy this situation?"

The increasing incidence of violence in classrooms, playgrounds and hallways has made it clear that schools are no longer able to claim an exemption from the violence of the streets, television and many homes.

Teacher organizations are among those which have found it difficult to gather data on school violence. What constitutes a "minor" or "major" incident is often not defined; outcomes are not as clear-cut as one finds in the final minutes of televised drama. Some officials are reluctant to encourage sensationalized public attention which might create a self-fulfilling prophecy. Others have cast the problem as one only of "vulnerability of teachers" which, while it is of legitimate concern, creates an artificial separation between perpetrators and victims. If schools are violent, both students and adults are victimized.

Much school violence is the inevitable result of a distorted construction of masculinity, in which "manly" is defined as domineering, aggressive and hostile. For many boys and young men, masculinity is synonymous with displaying contempt for women. Girls are becoming aware that the compliance and passivity associated with being stereotypically feminine are little more than invitations to be victimized; to be perceived as an unlikely target requires a toughness and aggression from girls with few role models other than the behaviour of males.

While both sound research and sensationalism have accompanied acts of student violence, there has been little said about how poisonous and distorted views of gender-appropriate behaviours mediate the problems and could inform the solutions. Some advocate the equivalent of "making the schools tougher than the kids", others advocate the teaching of stress reduction and mediation/-conflict resolution strategies to students. Some programs to address violence integrate many approaches, but most of these are devoted to dealing with the manifestations rather than the roots of violence. No program has been identified which names the male prerogative to use violence as a component of the problem of school violence. Solutions which are based on incomplete analyses of problems are doomed to be ineffective.

As noted by King and Peart (see section 3.4.1), women teachers are more likely than male teachers to feel at personal risk in their schools. This finding needs to be placed against the backdrop of more-or-less perpetual anxiety women feel regarding their vulnerability.

An analysis of which teachers are most likely to experience abuse from students is found in a report of the Manitoba Teachers' Society, (1990). Several graphs present survey results on teacher characteristics and incidence of abuse, reporting variables such as teachers' age, level taught, assignment, urban/rural location, etc. The following paragraph identifies the two most mathematically significant variables found among any of the dimensions examined:

"And since there is more and more violence between boys and girls (i.e. those who are dating, jealousy problems, possessiveness), it would be very helpful if resource persons spoke to young adolescents about this subject in our schools."

"As a teacher, woman, single mother of an eighteen year old daughter, I am beginning to feel burned out, powerless to make change in our educational system. For a variety of reasons, I have not pursued administration in a large system. As an elementary teacher, I teach human rights issues in my classroom; I attend workshops and give workshops and run students' groups about gender equity, violence against women. I circulate petitions and publish articles and mount campaigns. But until our system has been changed to an equitable one, my daughter, my female students and I, are in danger. We need a safe environment."

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"When these results were examined by gender, it was found that a significantly higher proportion of female teachers (66%) reported experiencing physical abuse than male teachers (34%). Survey results also indicated that female teachers were much more likely to experience harassment (66%) than male teachers (34%).[33]

"Today, in our schools, it is often the teachers who are the least respected. Where have we gone wrong and how can we remedy this situation, which often leads to violence? And how do we explain that violence issues concern mostly young boys?"

No graph highlighted this finding. Although this gender difference is noted among the report's many conclusions, no reference to gender is made in the recommendations, nor is there any gender-analysis of other dimensions of the study such as teachers' willingness to report, support offered by administration, etc.

While this commentary may be read as critical, it should be noted that the Manitoba Teachers' Society report at least includes gender as a variable in its study. In most cases, school violence is treated as a gender-neutral phenomenon. If societal violence is not gender-neutral, it is implausible to conclude that school violence would be. This understanding needs to permeate our discussions of "safe schools".

3 *(Women) Teachers in Canada: Their Work and Quality of Life*

In 1990, the Canadian Teachers' Federation commissioned Dr. Alan King and Dr. Marjorie Peart to conduct an extensive survey of Canadian teachers and to report their findings. While concern about teacher stress and satisfaction motivated CTF's decision to invest in this research, the subjects of inquiry expanded to include the nature of teachers' work, certain aspects of teachers' personal lives, teachers' relationships with their colleagues and their beliefs about education. The report was published by CTF in September, 1992, as Teachers in Canada: Their Work and Quality of Life. The following examines the meaning of the gender differences reported by the authors, calling upon a variety of sources to better understand teachers as women and women as teachers. It begins, however, with a discussion of the exclusion of the topic of gender from mainstream research and debate.

3.1 Working from the Margins

In 1989, a review of the voluminous literature on school reform published during the preceding five year period was subjected to line-by-line analysis. It concluded that less than 1% of the 60,000 lines of content on school reform dealt with gender equity, and that this inclusion, when it appeared, was most often in the form of an afterthought.[34]

"In the classroom I encourage female students to reach for careers of their own - not just something until they are married. I am always fighting for some cause for my students or me. Men administrators, men teachers think status of women is to be ignored or a threat. I could write 10 pages at least."

There is an easy and efficient way to catalogue education literature. Into one section goes all the "real" material, academic discourse, politically-inspired reports and reviews of reviews. The second section is labelled "other", and it is here that the marginalized voices speak to each other. If material deals in any substantive way with questions of gender, this is the category to which it is relegated. Mainstream education literature, experts and critics tend not to feel obliged to identify, understand or challenge existing gender inequities.

As anyone familiar with the content of the "other" section will attest, there is now overwhelming evidence that gender mediates all aspects of education just as it mediates all aspects of life. Paradoxically, one of the

characteristics of the social construction of gender has been the invisibility of this dynamic, especially to those who have been among the most privileged or most disadvantaged by the distribution of power flowing from gender. The centrality of gender need not be denied when it can safely be ignored. To point out the centrality of gender is, often, to risk credibility and to relegate oneself, as well as one's concerns, to marginality. If this is true when the subject of analysis is students and their classroom, then it is even more evident when questions are raised about the interaction between gender and the practice of teaching.

Teachers in Canada is not about marginality; it was commissioned to be a study of all teachers. Some may find its assumptions regarding what constitutes quality of work life, and its implicit separation of personal and professional spheres, to replicate a mainstream, androcentric and segmentalized approach to organizing meaning. Discussions of teachers and teaching are rarely intentionally gender-biased, but their pretence of gender-neutrality may perpetuate existing biases. As Jane Roland Martin points out, philosophical analyses of teaching and education have been founded upon the premise that sex is a difference that makes no difference.

> *"Although throughout history women have reared and taught the young and have themselves been educated, they are excluded both as the subject and the objects of educational thought from the standard texts and anthologies: as subjects, their philosophical works on education are ignored; as objects, works by women about their education and also their role as educators of the young are largely neglected. Moreover, the very definition of education and the educational realm adopted implicitly by the standard texts, and made explicit by contemporary analytic philosophers of education, excludes women."*[35]

"One of the problems of a woman teacher is that basically we are not accepted as having something valid to say, valid to offer the students, be they male or female. It's like there is no problem - "be quiet, don't make waves!".

Like other studies which do not set out with the intent of learning more about gender, Teachers in Canada, while making a substantial contribution to what is known about the profession, informs questions of gender only when one looks between the lines. Gender differences are reported, but noting difference is not the same as discovering meaning. To move from noting difference to interpreting connections and correlations is necessarily speculative work. By definition, any conclusions reached in this manner risk being viewed as uncertain if not suspect. Whether they will be marginalized remains to be seen.

3.2 *Decoding the Data: Profiles and Patterns*

3.2.1 *Demographics and Differences*

Survey participants reflected the known age, gender and role-clustering pattern of the profession, but as well their profiles reflected some often-overlooked gender characteristics. Among senior-grade teachers in their fifties and sixties, the ratio of males to females was nearly 3:1, among those in their twenties, females outnumbered males 2:1, confirming that the percentage of the teaching population that is female is undergoing a sharp increase.

Females were more likely than males to have 15 or fewer years of experience; the reverse was true for those with more than 16 years of experience:

- Teachers at the K-3 level were least likely to have a university degree (66%) and least likely to hold an advanced degree.
- Between 65 and 70% of women teachers were married, compared with 75 to 80% of male teachers.
- Those teaching senior students were least likely to be married if they were female, and most likely to be married if they were male.
- Males were substantially more likely to be married to another teacher than were females, with K-3 female teachers the least likely (16%) and 10-12/OAC males (33%) the most likely to have a spouse in the same profession.

3.2.2 *Choosing to Teach; Choosing to Stay*

Males were more likely than females to have come to teaching after other possibilities, usually other professions, were explored and not pursued due to lack of finances or low marks. Female teachers at all grade levels were more likely than males to indicate that teaching was their "first career choice", and more likely to say that their parents or guardians had influenced their career choices. As these quotes from survey respondents attest, "choice" is very much a gendered concept:

"I come from a large family of eleven children and was always babysitting. I spent a lot of time around children. In high school I visited a friend at Teachers' College ... I took a year off ... and decided to become a teacher.
Female, 13 years of experience, Grade 3, N.S."(p.27)

"While I was at teacher's college in 1960-61, it was very clear that if you became engaged you might not get a job. I got my "ring" at Christmas and didn't wear it to college or to the interview for my job in April/May of that year. I married in July – changed my name (as we did in those days) and showed up at school with my married name as a big surprise for my principal."

"The issue of quality of worklife for women is a crucial one for me as a female educator but more than that it is an issue for me as a daughter, sister, wife, individual. My upbringing was characteristic of the traditional notion of family whereby females assumed "their role" and males theirs. After many years of subservience and obedience to parents, brothers and other male authorities, I realized I had followed in my mother's footsteps. A certain degree of "guilt" (the expected female reaction) is experienced when reflecting on my upbringing. "Why do I feel as if I am betraying my parents if I do not fulfill all of the responsibilities of a "good wife, daughter?" After much struggle and determination in recent years I have worked to reach a state of equilibrium whereby I can move forward without the mental baggage pulling me back."

"My mother was a teacher, and my brother was becoming one. I tried being a nurse at first, but decided to go to university and become a teacher.

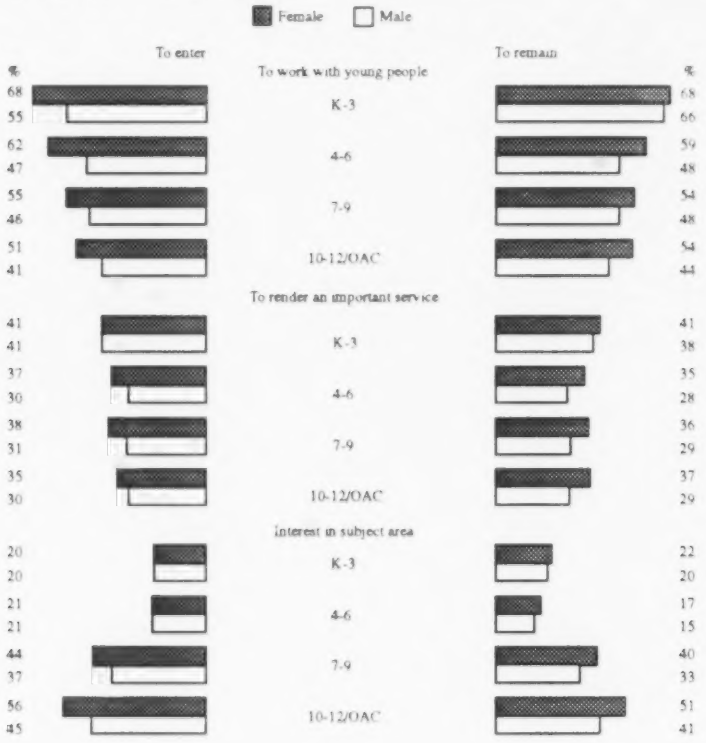
Female, 18 years of experience, Grades 7-9, English, N.S." (p.28)

"My family was not well to do. I got a government scholarship to Normal School (teacher's college now). As a woman, I had three choices - to be a secretary, a nurse or a teacher. My choice was teaching.

Female, 30 years of experience, Learning Resource Assistant, Grades 1-6, N.S." (p.29)

Marked gender differences were found among "reasons for staying in the profession" as reported by respondents. The report lists 13 factors identified by teachers as influencing their decisions, but it provides a gender breakdown only for the following three "high-incidence" responses:

Figure 3.2.2.1
Factors influencing decision to enter and to remain in teaching, by gender and grade group (% "very important")



Regrettably, no gender analysis of motivators such as "salary" or "opportunity for advancement" is available. However, it is unlikely that the altruistic tendencies found above would be likely to reverse for these items. The authors do note that 53% of women compared with 48% of men found the financial rewards of teaching "satisfactory". These findings are somewhat consistent with the stereotype that women will "settle for less" when salary and benefits are discussed. If it is in fact accurate, this tendency is not necessarily a reflection of low self-worth or of women's undemanding natures. Perhaps women's relative degree of satisfaction with their salaries simply reflects workforce realities; the average full-time female employee in Canada makes just over 60 cents for every dollar earned by a male. At least on the surface, male and female teachers are paid "the same", even if average male salaries exceed average female salaries in the profession by several thousand dollars (see section 2.2.4). Thus in answering "satisfactory" in reaction to questions about salary, it is quite possible that responses from women teachers carry the silent proviso, "considering the alternatives".

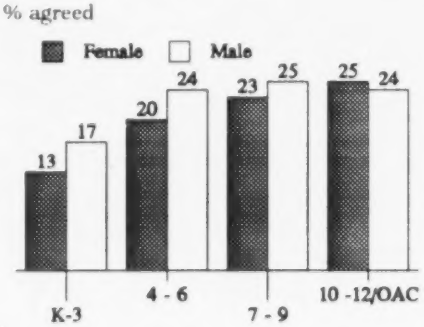
3.2.3 Aspirations and Administration

Those who choose to teach and choose to stay may also aspire to school administration. Aspiration is a most complex outcome, influenced by personal circumstances and characteristics, career stage, competency (or at least recognition of competency) and opportunity or discouragement. Aspiration is also related to gender.

An interest in "vertical mobility" was expressed more often by men than women, and more often by older rather than younger teachers, although there are some interesting variations within these tendencies. For example, women teaching at the most senior levels, an increasing proportion of whom are younger than their male counterparts, would appear to be at least as interested in this option as males.

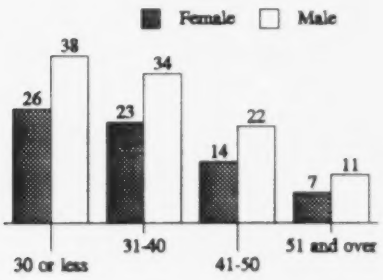
Women teaching in the K-3 cluster were among those least likely to express an interest in administration, but perhaps for some reasons not often identified. Few K-3 clusters operate under a "department head" system, and so presumably to seek this option would require a primary teacher to take on a new teaching assignment, at a more senior level. In schools in which the vice-principal teaches part-time, the teaching assignment is frequently

Figure 3.2.3.1
"I am interested in seeking a different position (e.g. department head, principal)", by gender and grade group



at the more senior grade levels, again requiring a change in classroom assignment for a primary teacher. Thus the consequences of choosing any of the options offered by the survey question would alter the role of a primary teacher much more substantively than would be true, for example, for an English teacher who contemplates becoming English department head.

Figure 3.2.3.2
"I am interested in seeking a different position (e.g. department head, principal)", by gender and age



Overall, however, the differences between men and women with respect to "aspiration", if that is what was being measured, were quite small, surely smaller than the gender differences between "successful" aspirants. And, of course, it is not simply aspiration which was being measured, but at least for some women (and, no doubt, some men) it was and is a measure of whether the delicate balance of quality of life could be maintained if administration became their focus.

"No, I have thought about it and decided against it. I think that as an administrator you have to be able to spend a good many evenings away from home because of meetings ... I have four children so for me, taking away the evenings like that wouldn't work ... it's hard enough sometimes taking 3 or 4 hours every night and sitting at the table ... but at least I think I could have made a contribution, but I don't think I could have gotten away in the evenings.
Female, 25 years of experience, Grade 4, NF." (p.37)

"My major concern is my dual role as career person and family person and family member. I have one child whom I love dearly. However, I dearly love working and could not imagine being a full-time mother. I have come to grips with my guilt about these feelings, however, whether or not to have a second child is causing me considerable consternation. I feel selfish feeling that one child is sufficient and a second could thwart my career. I believe siblings are important but to the detriment of my career? My husband is an excellent support (thank God!) but I still can't decide."

"Being an administrator means there are a lot of after-school meetings, a lot of evening meetings. I see my role as being home when my children are home. And that's another nice thing about teaching. I can finish off after the children are in bed, there may be another couple of hours of work I have to do, but at least it allows me to spend the hours from 4:30 to 8:30 with my kids ...
It's probably a sexist thing to say, but I think most teachers who are mothers probably view teaching differently from men, unless you're very ambitious. That's not to say that I'm not ambitious, but my goal is not to be in administration, I'd rather be the best teacher I can be.
Female, 15 years of experience, Grade 1, MB." (p.38)

Teachers in Canada quotes a number of teachers who mulled over the advantages and disadvantages of administration, and pondered whether hiring biases favoured women or men or neither group. The authors report that men (10%) were more likely than women

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to have said they were "frequently encouraged" to seek a position of added responsibility. Teachers quoted in the report saw gender as an important factor in women's "advancement" to administration; being female was seen as an advantage. None of the teachers quoted reflected on the advantages that being male had conferred on would-be or current administrators, or that there was any contradiction between their assumption and women's actual share of administrative roles.

"Right off the top of my head I might say, with the fact that the board wants to make sure that they are hiring more women into the administrative positions ... I might feel that I have to maybe prove myself a little bit more if I am in a position where I am being interviewed with one or two other women. I guess that I would feel that they would have the edge. I would not say that I am being discriminated against because I can see what they are trying to do and I can understand what is happening and why.

(Male, 15 years of experience, Grades K-8, Special Education, Ontario)." (p.38)

"We hired a female vice-principal here last year and I remember asking, "who is going to be the next vice-principal?" [Response] "We'll we are trying to get a woman." I don't think that those words should ever be pronounced. I think we should say, "We are trying to get the best possible person for the job". I think that in administration, quotas are being filled and that is definitely an advantage for women.

(Female, 9 years of experience, Grades 9-12/OAC, French/Italian, Ontario)." (p.38)

"I wouldn't call it discrimination, but the fact is that they are looking for more women than men in administration. An example is last year I applied for a vice-principalship and four women were hired and no men; I'm sure that was based on ability, not gender.

(Male, 34 years old, Grades 7-9, Saskatchewan)." (p.38)

"I suppose there are some advantages in being an aboriginal and being a woman. There is an affirmative action policy in place that could help me. But I don't want to be given a position simply because I apply for it unless I'm qualified for it, and presently, I need more experience in the school system. When I do apply, it will be given to me on my record, based on what I have done.

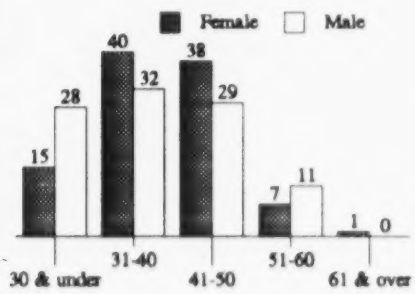
(Female, 3 years of experience, Grade 9, English, Manitoba)." (p.38)

3.3 *Question of Time*

As they say, time is all there is. Contemporary studies of gender, power and tension focus on time as the commodity most unfairly distributed between men and women. Time with children, time on housework, hours of sleep, time caring for aging parents, leisure time and even time spent feeling guilty about how time is spent; each has been found to be shaped by gender and gender expectations. In this section, the question of time in women teachers' lives will be considered from several perspectives.

3.3.1 *Part-Time; Part-True*

Figure 3.3.1.1
Part-time teachers, by gender and age



Nine percent of the surveyed teachers were teaching part-time, and 84% of this group was female. All the K-3 part-time teachers were female, as were three quarters of the 7-12/OAC part-time teachers.

Males were more likely than females to teach more than half-time. Seventy-one percent of part-time teachers had children at home compared with 55% of full-time teachers, but it is not known how this figure was distributed by gender. However, given the comparably high participation rate of males under 30 as part-time teachers, it would appear (as the authors point out) that this arrangement is a career-entry strategy for many males rather than a more permanent career or lifestyle choice. For women, the reverse would appear to be true.

Teachers' explanations of their part-time status were not explored with respondents. However, quotes from the text suggest what experience confirms: women choose part-time jobs not only to accommodate the responsibilities of their families, but to accommodate the expectations of their professional roles:

"As a half-time teacher, I can satisfy both roles as mother-/wife and teacher, I don't know how full-time teachers do it.

Female, 7 years experience, Part-time, Kindergarten, ON."(p.26)

"[The most positive aspect of teaching is] that I can finally do what I consider to be a "good job" and keep on top of things due to the fact that I'm on voluntary 60 percent workload and have only 3 groups rather than the usual 5!
Female, 41 years old, Grades 9-10, English, P.Q."(p.26)

It has been typical of women to tend to be grateful when they can make ends meet rather than to ask why the strings are so short. This tendency is variously seen as a strength and a weakness, but there is no question that it has enormously benefitted employers, some of whom have been known to proudly claim to "get at least .8 out of a .5 teacher!" Nonetheless, part-time teaching remains a "quality of life" solution for women teachers, who often see this option for making the unmanageable possible. While the short-term rewards are substantial for some, the long-term costs of losing the opportunity for professional advancement, contributory pension years and other pro-rated benefits are costs borne by the individual herself.

"Since I am more energized with only half the school day to plan and prepare for, I am involved in a number of extra-curricular activities as faculty advisor. Because of my half-time status these efforts on my part, though appreciated are, I think, expected since I have "so much more time" ... unsettling sometimes."

And while many part-time teachers describe their situation as one of "choice", this should not be seen as a reason to ignore the circumstances which make such choices predictable. Would as many women choose part-time teaching if they had ready access to dependable, high-quality and affordable childcare? Would as many choose part-time if the second shift of home and family responsibilities was more equitably shared? Is part-time teaching a very expensive compromise for those involved, or is it a creative accommodation to women's multiple responsibilities? Given its increasing incidence (approaching 20% of women teachers in some provinces), part-time teaching is given insufficient attention in policy and research. Although pro-rated benefits may provide a veneer of "equal treatment", as with similar issues, equality is not necessarily equity.

3.3.2 Time Out

Many women teachers leave their profession more than once, usually in conjunction with maternity leave. Despite contractual and legislative rights to do so without penalty, one teacher reported:

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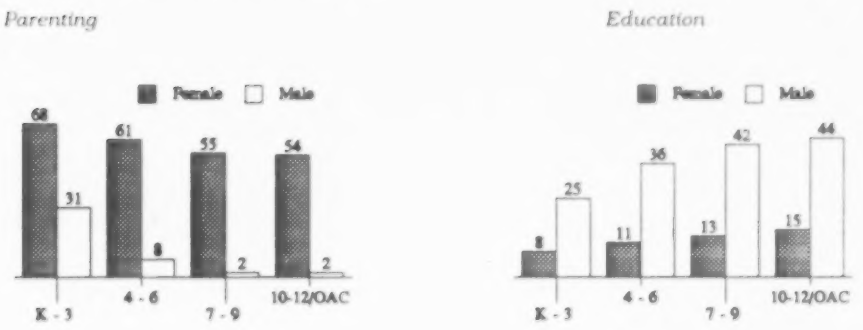
"I took nine months off to have my baby. It is really a political game when you take time off from teaching because you lose a lot when you take time off, you lose seniority, and that is a big issue in this school board because our numbers are declining and eventually a lot of people are going to be declared surplus. Because I don't want to be one of those surplus people, I don't want to take any time off.

Female, 9 years of experience, Grades 9-12, French/Italian, ON." (p.41)

Women were far more likely than men to take at least one year's parenting leave, although men teaching younger children were more likely than men teaching at senior levels (7-12/OAC) to have done so. Men appear to have obtained advanced degrees by taking educational leave:

Figure 3.3.2.1
Reasons for having taken one full year or more away from teaching, by gender and grade group



"The solution I see, which is not practised in any of the schools in my district, is the availability of daycare at the workplace. Being close to my son, spending lunchtime together, being near for any emergencies or just dropping by to say hi and have a hug would solve alot of concerns and personal conflicts I feel about childcare. On the other hand, longer hours wouldn't be such a threat having already spent more time with my son, and a relaxed mind should increase productivity."

The gender differences found in the chart above demonstrate the extent of the gap between female and male career/life experiences. While an extended absence from teaching for family reasons may be permissible, no one suggests that it benefits one's career development. Indeed, many women claim they are penalized for appearing to choose their family role over their professional role. Years after they return to teaching, their "career commitment" may be questioned. Leaves for the purpose of study, however, are not simply allowed by boards, they are granted and often funded; few teachers find additional qualifications to be detrimental to their professional aspirations. There is little research reporting which teachers apply for and which are granted educational or sabbatical leaves. Are part-time teachers eligible? Are sabbaticals granted to those who do not yet have their first degree, the great majority of whom are

women? Women who have taken leave to fulfil family responsibilities may be seen as having "used up" their favours with the board, and thus become ineligible for other kinds of leave. It is often easier to buy back pension credits for years on education leave than family leave. What kind of institutional and cultural support is available to men who take extended parenting leave? Women tend to see such men as benefitting from their colleagues' support, especially women colleagues, for such "progressive" behaviour, while women's absences are taken for granted.

"Even though I like my work, it is not always easy. It was worse when my daughters were very young. I had to worry about finding responsible babysitters who would really take care of my children."

As described in section 2.4.2, deciding to take time out is an expensive proposition from other vantage points as well. There is a certain level of tension, largely stimulated by the media, between women who work at home raising their families and those who stay in the workforce even though they have young children. Those at home would appear to be staying for ever-briefer periods of time as working in paid employment becomes the norm. Those with paying jobs realize the costs of dropping out, even for short periods. As the political rhetoric on "family values" is notched up, what might once have been mutual criticism seems to have become mutual envy and mutual guilt. Neither contributes to quality of life.

"Why do women equate a perfectly clean home with competence as a mother? A happy child and parent is much more important in the long run. Minor dust hasn't killed anyone."

3.3.3 A Gendered Work Life

How do teachers spend their days? Teachers in Canada includes a very interesting chapter on "the work day", but unfortunately little information contained in it is broken down by gender. However, given the gender distribution of the profession, tendencies across the various grade levels and in certain subjects can be said to affect (or reflect) one gender more than another. For example, if something is more true of K-3 teachers and family studies teachers than it is of 10-12/OAC teachers and physics teachers, it is fair to observe a gender difference, but not necessarily to assume a gender causation.

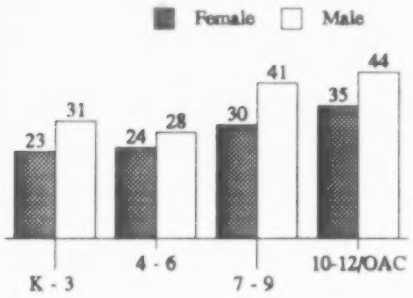
"An amusing personal story: Overhearing my daughters at play - they were about 3 and 5 years old and were playing house. The "mother" because very angry (pretend) with the "baby" and said 'Please don't disturb me, can't you see I'm marking!' The endless marking of a teacher's life tends to be done by mothers at the kitchen table here and there in snatched moments as well as in the quiet hours when the children have gone to bed. It is always there looming in the background while you go about the laundry, the cleaning and the cooking."

The following findings of the study are therefore associated with gender, but it is not claimed that gender is the sole or even primary factor influencing the findings.

- The use of simulations, games, small group work, and class discussion decreased in frequency in a steady manner from K (highest frequency) to 12/OAC (lowest frequency).

- Homogeneous ability groupings were seen as the preferred model by 68% of 10-12/OAC teachers, 64% of those teaching grades 7-9, 50% of those teaching grades 4-6 and by 43% of K-3 teachers.
- Support for the integration of children with special needs decreased from 30% (K-3) to 22% (10-12/OAC).
- Differences of opinions by subject taught (7-12/OAC) regarding whether a teacher had adequate preparation time showed no particular gender pattern, but gender differences are quite evident when responses are broken down by grade level.

Figure 3.3.3.1
"I have enough preparation time during the work day", by gender and grade group



Since actual minutes of in-school preparation time were not reported, it is not clear whether women actually have less assigned preparation time, or whether they do more preparation or whether they feel they should do more preparation. It is also possible that women are more likely than men to be teaching in preparation-heavy situations, including split grades, "integrated" classes, or more diverse classes at senior levels. Since every teacher knows there is always more preparation that could be done, these findings may confirm that women have more difficulty dealing equanimously with the limitations and expectations of teaching, holding themselves to a "super-teacher" as well as a "super-woman" model. While these speculations are neither confirmed nor denied by the data, nonetheless:

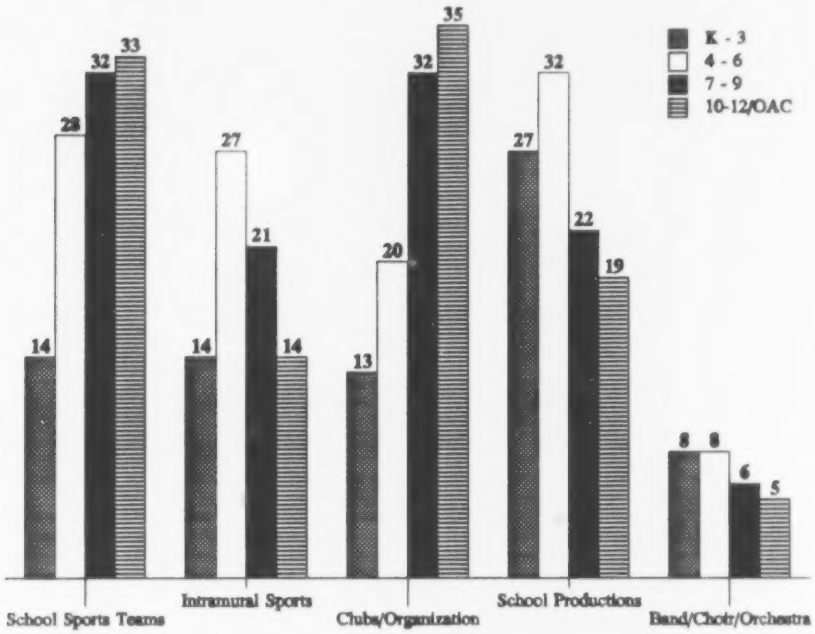
- Elementary teachers (predominantly female) spent more time than 7-12/OAC teachers (predominantly male) carrying out school supervision.
- While K-6 and 7-12/OAC teachers on average reported spending similar numbers of hours in out-of-school preparation, the 7-12/OAC averages showed a wider range of responses by subject area. Largely female-dominated teaching areas including english, family studies and business education were associated with higher numbers of out-of-school preparation hours when compared with male-dominated subject areas such as technical education and mathematics, although this relationship is not entirely consistent across all gender-typical subjects.

"Something that bothers me is the issue of preparation time. The Ministry seems to think that at the elementary level, we don't need as much preparation and correction time than at the secondary level (intermediate and senior divisions). Is this because the majority of teachers are women? Is this yet more discrimination?"

Involvement in extra-curricular activities was presented in the following way:

Figure 3.3.3.2
Teachers who took a major role in extra-curricular activities this year, by grade group

% of teachers



While this chart seems to suggest program differences rather than gender differences, it should be noted that not all kinds of extra-curricular activities require the same amount of time, take place at the same times of day or even present the same degree of stress. Being the adult advisor to the noon-hour chess club is not particularly comparable to organizing the Christmas concert. Again, more work is required to better understand this dimension of teacher time.

"Teachers spend so much time providing for all the development aspects of their children such as skating, swimming, play, etc. that work commitments must take a secondary role."

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3.4 What Women do; How Women Feel

There are many different ways to teach, and at least as many ways of seeing oneself as a teacher, and evaluating the relationship between oneself and others. Socio-psychological theory would suggest that women's styles of more intense engagement with others would spill over into teaching styles and influence the relative importance women teachers' accord to collegial relationships and close relationships with students. It would also suggest that self-assessment devices can be distorted by self-esteem and other gendered variables.

3.4.1 A Gendered Engagement

King and Peart's chapter on "Teachers and Students" again provides little direct data on gender differences; and certain inferences based on grade level/subject area are speculative and subject to influences having nothing to do with gender. For example, noting that kindergarten teachers, the vast majority of whom are female, use the "lecture method" of instruction less often than history teachers (most of whom are male) without recognizing that the critical variable is far more likely to be age of students and subject rather than gender would be misleading. Having noted this, when comparisons of examples less dissimilar from each other can be made, questions of the influence of gender can fairly be raised.

- Teachers shifted progressively from emphasizing student effort, social skills and behaviour (strongest K-3) to emphasizing comparative achievement and "products" in student evaluation (strongest 10-12/OAC). However, within 7-12/OAC, teachers of subject areas in which women predominate persisted in recognizing effort to a greater extent than teachers in male-predominant subject areas, although there are some exceptions. The same pattern existed for recognition of "social skills" as a component of student evaluation.

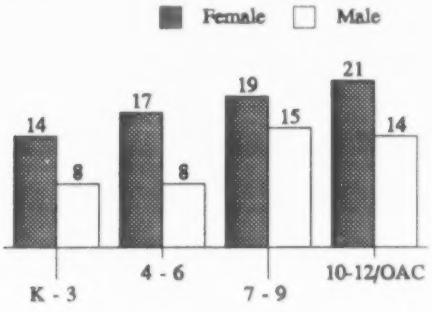
- Teachers at K-6 levels were the least likely to say they "rarely or never" had discipline problems, and the most likely to say they "frequently" or "sometimes" had difficulty. Whether this describes the

behaviour of students, the skill of elementary teachers, gender differences or the natural outcome of less formal and more flexible teaching styles is not known. It may also reflect the propensity of women to be more self-critical, or the option used more by secondary than elementary teachers (according to the study) of sending misbehaving students "to the administration", and thus turning the problem over to someone else.

- There are dramatic differences in the sense of personal risk experience by female and male teachers.

Figure 3.4.1.1
"I worry about being physically injured by some students in the school", by gender and grade group

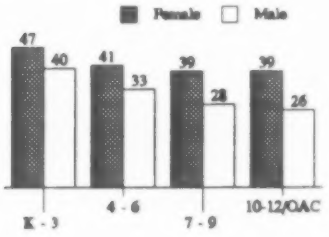
% almost always/frequently/sometimes



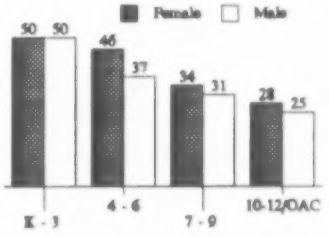
Under these circumstances, the data which suggest women are more likely than men to doubt their classroom management skills can be seen in an entirely new light.

Figure 3.4.1.2
Teachers' response to selected teacher-student relationship items, by gender and grade group (% "almost always/frequently")

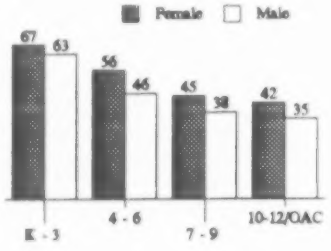
Students talk to me about their personal concerns



I can influence even the most difficult or unmotivated students

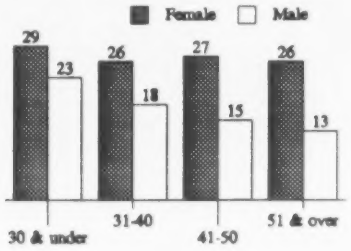


Students show me they appreciate my teaching.



- Female teachers were more likely than male teachers to score in the "high group" on the study's "teacher-student relationship" scale, and although women's tendency to fall in the high group paralleled those of men when the grade levels were compared, they did not follow a similar age-comparison pattern.

Figure 3.4.1.3
Teachers in the high teacher-student relationship group, by gender and age*

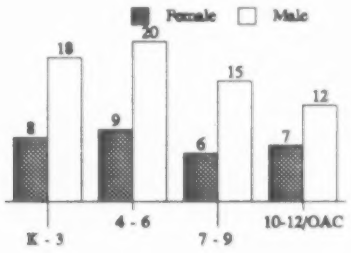


* *23% of teachers scored in the high teacher-student relationship group.*

Perhaps the comparably higher scores of younger men are indicative of a sustained change among this cohort in favour of a closer, more student-centered orientation. Whether men's declining scores as they age are more accurately seen as the record of changing male values remains to be seen.

- Significant differences were found between men and women when they were asked whether fear of possible legal action affected their relationship with students.

Figure 3.4.1.4
"The fear of possible legal action for child abuse affects the way I relate to my students", by gender and grade group



The impact was strongest for males teaching younger students, where slightly more than twice as many males as females agreed with the stem.

Given much has been made of the negative impact of a heightened awareness of child abuse on teacher-student relations, these figures are surprisingly low. For example, reframed, 82% of male primary teachers said the way they relate to students was not significantly influenced by this concern. Those seeking to understand male's chronic (and increasing) disinterest in primary /elementary teaching often argue that fear of unfounded or malicious accusation/prosecution related to child abuse dissuades large numbers of men who would otherwise be eager to teach small children. This argument would appear to be on very shaky grounds, unless prospective recruits to elementary education have been exposed to much more anxiety-inducing information than have practising teachers, a situation which seems unlikely at best.

3.4.2 Satisfaction and Stress

One of the inherent limitations of studying satisfaction and stress among practising teachers is that only survivors can be counted. Those who could not find enough satisfaction, or who experienced too much stress, are likely to have left teaching. Others in similar circumstances who are still teaching may have found filling in one more survey form too much to take, and thus become part of the "non-responders" category with unknown characteristics.

Nonetheless, among survivors and respondents:

- The likelihood of being among the "high satisfaction" and "low satisfaction" group was influenced by gender, and to a lesser extent, by level taught, except for primary teachers:

"I have two daughters, aged 17 and 22 years old. I have been married for almost 24 years and have been teaching since I am 20 years old. I can honestly say that no other career seemed as attractive to me as teaching. I really enjoy what I do, maybe because I had the opportunity of teaching from grades 2 to 9. In my 26-year career, I accepted changes in subject matters and levels because I always enjoy the opportunity of new challenges."

Figure 3.4.2.1
Teacher satisfaction, by gender (18% of teachers scored in each of the high and low satisfaction groups).

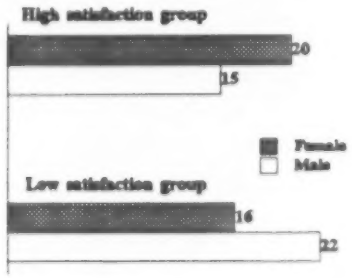
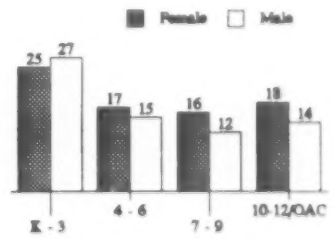


Figure 3.4.2.2
Teachers in high satisfaction group, by gender and grade group (18% of teachers scored in the high satisfaction group)



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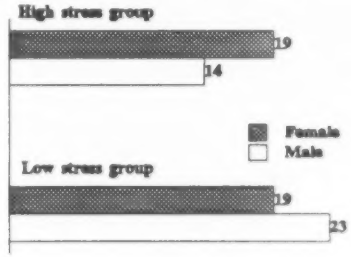
"I have a wonderful spouse, but he is just as confused, overworked and busy as I am. I can't afford anymore child care, and time away is not an option at this point. Money is extremely tight right now. But I am still expected to carry all my roles without complaining. Even my own mother thinks that as a woman I should be able to juggle everything (she has never worked outside the home). There are times I feel cut-off and isolated and I wonder will things ever get any better? I don't think men are "conditioned" to feel the guilt that women do and are therefore better able to cope. My God, it's still "not right" for my husband to bring my (our!) child to the doctor this afternoon (according to my mother)!"

- Similar proportions of single and married teachers were found among both high and low satisfaction categories, but those who were separated/divorced and living in common-law relationships were likely to be in the low-satisfaction category. Widowed teachers were more likely to be in the high satisfaction category. No gender breakdowns are available, but these findings would confirm that there is an iterative relationship between "personal" and "professional" life in which one sphere spills over into the other.
- Other variables associated with high satisfaction, such as good relations with administrators, colleagues and students were not presented by gender. We do not know the relative importance of these factors, or variables such as "public recognition" for men and women, or whether there are gender differences to be found.
- Teacher "stress", as defined in this survey, did demonstrate gender differences:

Figure 3.4.2.3
Teacher stress, by gender
(17% of teachers scored in the high stress group, 20% scored in the low stress group)



The stems used to assess stress were the following:

- I am exhausted at the end of a regular school day.
- I become impatient with some of my students.
- My daily workload is too heavy for me to do my job well.
- The time demands of my job interfere with my family responsibilities.
- I do not have sufficient time to provide adequate help for students who are having difficulty.
- I am able to influence decisions which directly affect me.

These findings are particularly noteworthy since K-3 teachers, overwhelmingly female, were the least likely to describe themselves as being among the high stress

group. What is it about teaching at the primary level that results in such high satisfaction? Few who have taught at this level would say it is due to a reduced workload. Since part-time teachers are strongly represented within this group, is it possible that they experience less stress, or at least less stress as it was measured by the available stems? Perhaps the primary classroom is the level at which institutional views of "appropriate education" encourage individualized, informal and "whole child" approaches which most closely replicate the teaching styles women at all levels seem to prefer. Perhaps it is a reflection of needs met, since women's valuing of relationships and connections can be more easily expressed through and with young children. Perhaps it is a measure of support and collegiality, with primary teachers taking advantage of the opportunity to create a "female culture" in which their values are less likely to be challenged. Perhaps it is simply the students who delight teachers more and disappoint them less. Exploring these possibilities could become an agenda for future research.

"I would like to start by commenting on what women teachers are like, based on my experience of working with women and men as a teacher and as a vice-principal. I have always found women teachers to be much more flexible than their male counterparts, more eager to face new challenges, less hesitant to support, help and do favors for colleagues, much more available and close to students, far more optimistic and positive regarding their work and students, more open to criticism, more likely to say yes, and more likely to seek personal and professional development. In general, I can say that women teachers are better educators than male teachers.

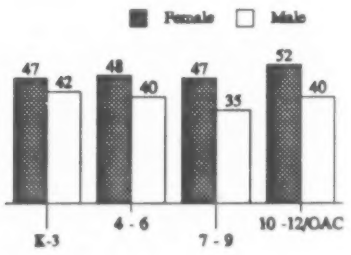
The overall indications of women teachers' high satisfaction appear to occur despite their complicated lives:

- Gender differences in response to recognizing work/home conflicts were calculated:

Figure 3.4.2.4
Teacher responses to selected job-home items, by gender and grade group

I feel torn between the responsibilities of my teaching job and my responsibilities at home.

% agreed



The time demands of my job interfere with my family responsibilities

% almost always/frequently

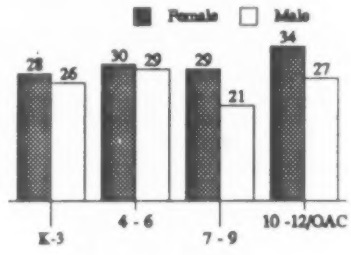
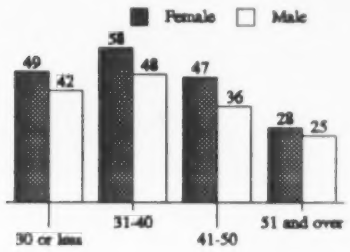


Figure 3.4.2.5
Teacher responses to selected job-home items, by gender and age

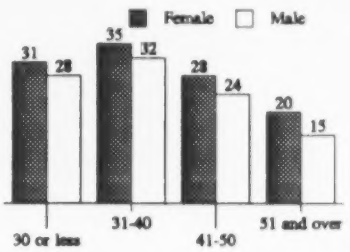
I feel torn between the responsibilities of my teaching job and my responsibilities at home.

% agreed



The time demands of my job interfere with my family responsibilities.

% almost always/frequently

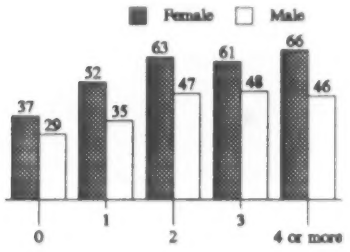


Predictably, these feelings increased for women (and, to a lesser extent, for men) who had children under 19 years of age.

Figure 3.4.2.6
Teacher responses to selected job-home items, by gender & number of children under age 19

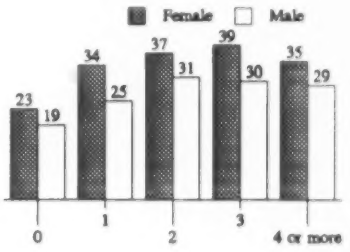
I feel torn between the responsibilities of my teaching job and my responsibilities at home

% agreed



The time demands of my job interfere with my family responsibilities

% almost always/frequently



"I am a teacher, mother of three children (22, 20 and 17 years), wife and administrator (principal) of a seconday school of 1,360 students. I have been in education for 26 years, 16 as a teacher, 8 as an administrator and 2 with the teaching profession. I look back favourably on these 26 years. Because my husband only works part-time, I was privileged to have very enriching experiences in my career while being a mother to three children."

While many found the combined roles of teacher/parent reinforcing, others saw the classroom as benefitting from their "better sides" at their children's expense.

"It is tiring - this job. It takes a lot out of you emotionally. At home, I have two young children and one is the same age as my students. I find that all my patience is sapped by my students, so when I get home I can't be as patient as I am with children here. I try, but I can't.

Female, 8 years of experience, Grade 1, ON." (p.136)

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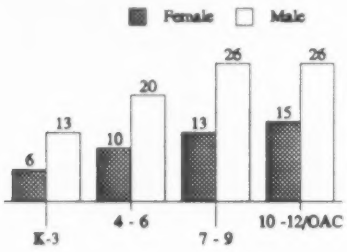
"I think it [teaching] influences my role as a parent considerably. I think it decreases my ability to be an effective parent - maybe that's not true, but I find myself less patient and more demanding than I would have been if I weren't a teacher. I force myself to be patient and tolerant in the work place and when I get home, I am not as patient and tolerant with my own kids. I am not sure this applies to all the teachers that I know, but I spend a lot of time after 3:30 on the job.

Male, 25 years of experience, Grades 10-12, English/-Theatre Arts/Computer, SK." (p.136-137)

"Of equal concern is the feeling of responsibility for work and home and how often they conflict. I also find that because the vast majority of my co-workers are male (40 male - 10 female) and their roles are working while the spouse takes responsibility for home, I feel more pressure when staff meetings run late, or unexpected meetings are planned, or I have to return after hours. I also find that time for "me" is non-existent. By the time 10:30 at night comes I'm too tired to enjoy my time. School prep work removes any free time until 10:30. Early mornings and late nights don't mix."

- After work and family, there's not much left over. Many fewer women than men found it possible or desirable to hold a second job, either for the variety it offers or for income:

Figure 3.4.2.7
Teachers who held a job outside of teaching, by gender and grade group.



3.4.3 Gendered Administration

King and Peart's numbers for female administrators vary somewhat from the data reported in part 2.3.1 of this paper. Teachers in Canada claims that between 1972 and 1990, the percentage of female secondary school principals increased from 4 to 8%; of female elementary principals from 20 to 22%; of female secondary vice-principals from 7 to 17%t and elementary vice-principals from 20 to 36%. The overall percentage of female administrators varies by province and territory; in this study Alberta (at 6%) and NWT (at 37%) provided the extremes.

Using the survey data, it would appear that the younger the students, the more likely it is that women will administer their school. A higher proportion of young

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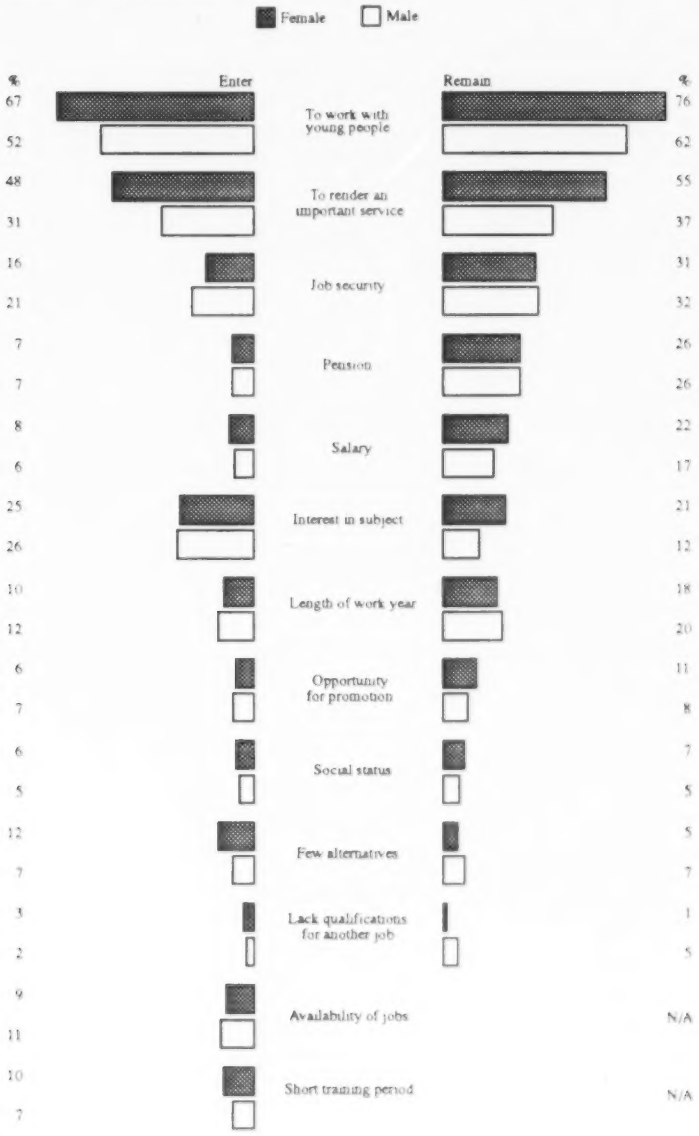
were more likely than male teachers to be married, and considerably more likely to be married than female principals (73%); vice-principals showed similar patterns. Female administrators were up to four times more likely than male administrators to be single, separated or divorced. No information was provided on the likelihood of administrators to have children at home.

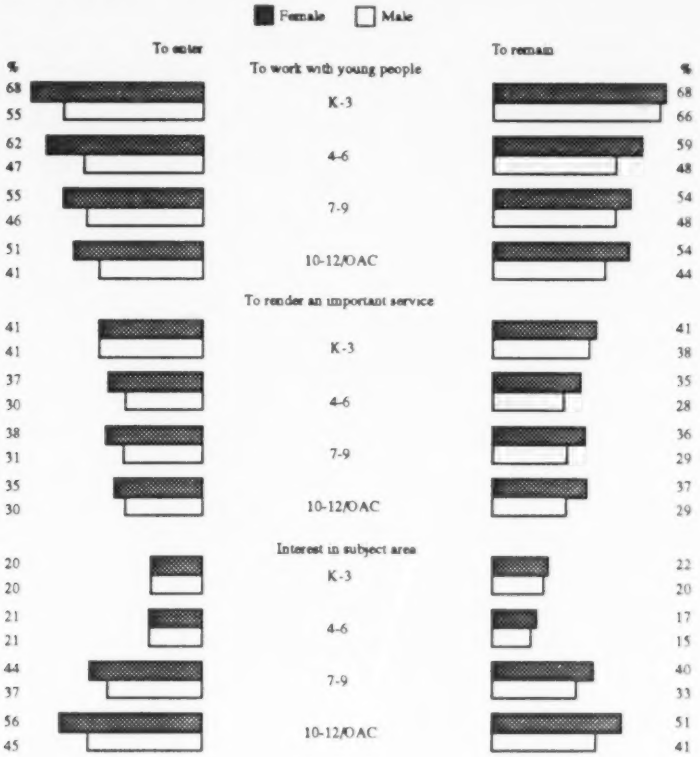
The study found gender differences among those factors which attract and retain administrators.

Figure 3.4.3.1
Factors that influenced principals' decision to enter and to remain in teaching, by gender (% "very important")



These findings report some significant gender differences between male and female administrators, as well as the possibility of making some comparisons, by gender, with teachers who are not administrators. While summary figures for all factors are not given, three key variables were presented by gender and age group:

Figure 3.4.3.2
Factors influencing decision to enter and to remain in teaching, by gender and grade group (% "very important")

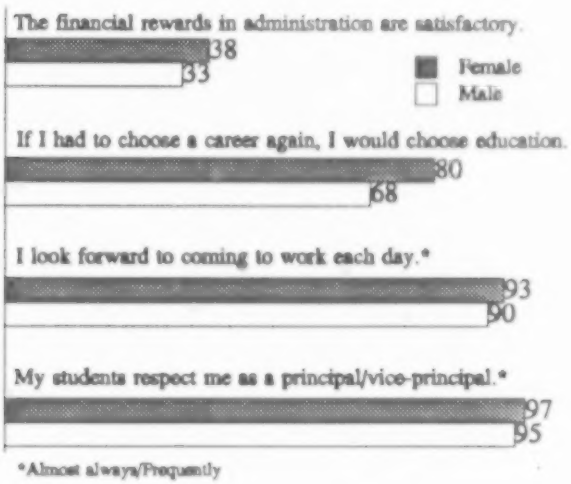


From these two sets of figures, then, it would appear that female principals are more likely, and male principals less likely than their teaching counterparts to hold what would be considered "altruistic" motives for entering and remaining in the profession. As well,

- Thirty-one percent of the male administrators indicated that when they began to teach, they had expected to be a principal or vice-principal within ten years; this was true for only 10% of female administrators.
- Twice the proportion of male administrators had taken a year or more away for educational purposes than female administrators.
- Female administrators expressed slightly more satisfaction than male administrators:

Figure 3.4.3.3

Principals' responses to satisfaction items, by gender



Of course, this study was not designed expressly to analyze administrator differences by gender. However, the findings are not inconsistent with those which claim women's administrative styles tend to be more effective because they are more responsive to staff needs and more student-centred. Much more work with a cross-section of administrators is required to understand the interaction between gender, administration, motivation and satisfaction.

4 *Revisiting Progress: Contemplating the Future*

Twenty years after seeking solutions to the conundrum posed by "women as teachers as women" was begun, it is time to assess the goals, priorities and strategies of the women and education movement.

Ironically, the small amount of progress that has been achieved would appear to be influencing the focus of the movement in two ways. Emphasis on women's advancement, even if it has been slow, can assuage advocates that change is happening, while providing a defense for those who feel no urgency about gender equity. The slow rate of change, however, can discourage those who had hoped for a much more rapid transformation of the profession and the quality of women's lives. In frustration, advocates may withdraw and seek causes which appear to be more amenable to change.

If the movement is to forego a "male model" as setting the desirable standard for women, this must become the basis for new priorities and not just rhetoric. Have these new priorities been selected? Have they been presented in such a way that many thousands of women teachers can identify with them as relevant to the quality of their lives? Have important initiatives been dismissed because they threaten a superficial "post-feminist" peace?

Some will take from this report little more than the conclusion that most women teachers appear to be satisfied or very satisfied with their lives as teachers. Is this the basic reality the movement must respect? Others may say that the findings are simply evidence of the enormous capacity of women to make the best of any situation.

Some women will always be teachers; some teachers will always be women. Does it follow that the quality of life of women teachers will always be shadowed by gendered expectations and gendered experiences? Ought women teachers to continue to focus on interpersonal rewards, sacrificing as necessary to keep all spheres running as

"The struggle for me and all women has been a long and arduous one. I feel a sense of accomplisment as I look at my present role as a female administrator in the field of education. My new family is reflective of my deep-rooted beliefs of what a home should or should not look like. Although many issues have been resolved for me personally I still see a great many areas of concern for women today. With my satisfaction is a need to deal with an increasing number of personal obstacles yet to be resolved. Many of these issues are a constant reminder of the task that is still unfinished."

smoothly as possible? Perhaps this is vestigial and counter-productive sexism, committing women to little more than gratitude and exhaustion. Perhaps women teachers ought to be simply celebrating different experiences, different styles and different expectations.

Perhaps it is not our differences which constitute the problem, but rather the valuing of these differences and the valuing of the women who experience them. The schools of this country are under enormous pressure to become less child-centred and more product-oriented, more stereotypically "male" in their purposes and practices. It is precisely for those characteristics stereotypically associated with women: a lack of hard-headedness, an over-emphasis on emotions and self-esteem, a queasy relationship with the real sciences - that schools are being criticized. In making schools more closely resemble "men's world", the aspects of teaching most valued by women are put in great jeopardy. If women's opinions are not heard and valued in the outside world, why would they matter when it comes to shaping schools?

Women have tolerated a great deal because of their love of teaching. When the classroom door is closed, it is the professional autonomy of the teacher which allows her to do what she loves in the way she thinks best. Without this freedom, her primary compensation is gone. Without a movement advocating quality of life for women as teachers, women will have little opportunity to influence those aspects of teaching they most value. Without a movement advocating quality of life for teachers as women, the inequity of the larger world will overwhelm any marginal internal gains. The complementarity of these goals is the starting place for new visions of E=Quality.

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